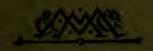
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M. TULLI CICERONIS CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE



M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR

DE SENECTUTE

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A.

REVISED AND IN GREAT PART REWRITTEN

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New York

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PREFACE.

This revision of Shuckburgh's edition of the Cato Maior was undertaken at the request of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., who desired to make the English edition more useful for American students. With this purpose in view, the American editor has found it necessary to rewrite the greater part of the book.

Justice to Mr. Shuckburgh, and no less to the revising editor, demands a statement of the new features of the book, for which the latter is solely responsible.

The text of C. F. W. Muller, Leipsic, 1879, has been substituted for that used in the original work, and the few readings which vary from this text have been given at the conclusion of the notes. The introduction has been rewritten, with the exception of the Life of Cato, which has been considerably abridged. Additional matter, such as the Greek sources, the Scipio family, Cicero's works, and an analysis of the dialogue, has been placed in the introduction. The long vowels in the text have been marked, Anton Marx' Hülfsbüchlein für die

Aussprache der lateinischen Vokale in positionslangen Silben, 2d ed. 1889, being followed in the measurement of hidden quantities. For the convenience of teachers and students, the grammatical references to Allen and Greenough, Gildersleeve-Lodge, and Harkness have been placed at the bottom of each page.

The notes have been entirely rewritten, much attention being given to the Latinity, a matter which should be presented to the student early in his college career, if not in his preparatory work. Much assistance has been obtained in this respect from Dr. Reid's most valuable edition. The editions of Meissner and Sommerbrodt and the recent American work by Professor Rockwood have been of much service.

The extensive Biographical Index in the original edition has been omitted, as unsuited to the character of the present work, and an index of proper names has been substituted. Much matter has been taken from the index and inserted in the notes, where it will be more likely to reach the eye of the ordinary American student.

My thanks are due to my colleague, Dr. Nelson Glenn McCrea, for his valuable suggestions and for his assistance in proof-reading.

JAMES C. EGBERT, JR.

Columbia College, October, 1895.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | P | AGE |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------|------|-------|-----|----|-----|--|------|--|----|---|-----|-----|
| JEN | | | | | | | | | | | ix | | | |
| | Time of Compo | ositio | n. | | | | | | | | | | | ix |
| | The Title | | | | | | | | | | | • | | x |
| | Form of the W | ork. | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| | Greek Sources | | | | | | | | | | | | | xi |
| | Life of Scipio - | -Th | e Sc | ipi | o F | am | ily | | | | | | | xii |
| | Life of Laelius | | | | | | | | | | | | . : | xiv |
| | Life of Cato . | | | | | | | | | | | | | xv |
| Analysis xxxv | | | | | | | | | viii | | | | | |
| Сісі | ero's Works | | | | | | | | | | | | | xl |
| Text, with Grammatical References 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| VOT: | ES | | | | | | | | | | | | | 65 |
| AR | IATIONS FROM | Mül | LER | 's '. | Гех | T | | | | | | | .] | 178 |
| NDI | ex of Proper | NAM | ES | | | | | | | | | | .] | 180 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |



GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE CATO MAIOR.

Time of Composition. — Two periods in Cicero's life were times of literary activity: (1) the four years which expired between his writing of the De Oratore in 55 B.C. and his proconsulship in Cilicia in 51; (2) the four years between his return to Rome, after his reconciliation with Caesar in 47, and 42, the date of his death. The first period is marked by the production of works of a political character, De Republica and De Legibus, while to the second belong writings on rhetorical and philosophical subjects.

In 45 Cicero experienced a great personal bereavement in the death of his daughter Tullia, and this sorrow of his later years was increased by his grief at the condition of affairs in the state, the downfall of the Republic, and the dictatorship of Caesar. These feelings were still strong when the death of Caesar, March 15, 44, gave a momentary hope that the state would be restored, a hope

that was followed, however, by greater disgust and anxiety because of the power of Antonius.

It is probably to these apprehensions, which were shared by Atticus, that Cicero makes reference in § 1. Cicero appears also to approach very closely to his own sorrow when he alludes to Cato's fortitude at the time of his son's death, § 12; and the hope of immortality expressed at the close, § 85, is no doubt the sentiment of Cicero's own heart, though placed in the mouth of Cato. These hints, together with allusions to the Cato Maior in three letters addressed to Atticus (14, 21, 3; 16, 3, 1; 16, 11, 3), lead us to place the date a few weeks after the assassination of Caesar, i.e. in April, 44.

The Title.—Cicero, in Laelius de Amicitia, § 4, and in a letter to Atticus, 14, 21, mentions this work under the title Cato Maior, adding in the former qui est scriptus ad te (Atticus) de senectute. In De Divinatione, § 2, 3, he speaks in a similar way of the subject as de senectute; so that the complete title, according to Cicero, is Cato Maior de Senectute.

Form of the Work.—As in other philosophical writings, Cicero has selected for his treatise on old age the dialogue form, which was a favorite method of literary presentation of philosophical theories among the ancients. The Socratic dialogue, as found in the works of Plato, consists of

a continual discussion and debate, in which the principal characters take the most important part. Cicero, however, intending to set forth his own theories with slight interruption, and yet desiring to arouse interest by the introduction of additional characters, has rather followed the Aristotelian plan, and has combined the lengthy exposition of the principal speaker with brief and comparatively unimportant remarks on the part of the other members of the company. The dialogue purports to be a conversation held in the year 150 B.C. between Cato, then eighty-three years of age, and two young men, representatives of the new generation, who were soon to win the highest distinction in the state, Scipio Africanus the younger, about thirtyfive years old, and C. Laelius the younger, about three years older.

Greek Sources. — Cicero in the Cato Maior, as in others of his philosophical writings, depends largely upon Greek authors, and in several passages has indicated the sources of his arguments. There is some probability that the plan of the work itself was obtained from a Greek source, and in § 3 Cicero refers to a dialogue on Old Age by Aristo which may have been his model. Portions of Xenophon's Oeconomicus and Cyropaedia appear in translations in chapters 17 and 21. The opening dialogue between Socrates and Cephalus in Plato's Republic is

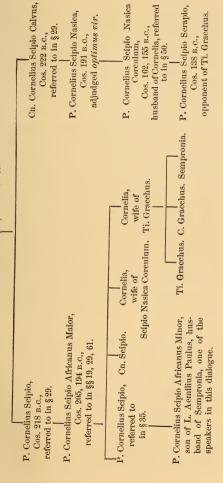
imitated in chapters 2 and 3, and a portion of the *Phaedo* is given in chapter 21. Cicero when translating from the Greek does not always follow the original, but adapts it to Roman times and circumstances.

CHARACTERS.

(1) Scipio. — P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor, born in 185 B.C., was the son of L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, the victor at Pydna (168) in the Macedonian War. He was adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the invalid son of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior. He received the name of his adoptive father, and added to it the cognomen Aemilianus as an evidence of his origin. After his success against Carthage he received the name Africanus Minor. He early engaged in military affairs, serving under his father at Pydna and again as military tribune in Spain in 151, where he secured a reputation for bravery and energy. When the third war with Carthage began, the Romans suffered through the blunders of their officers, and in their anxiety to complete the war elected Scipio consul in 147, although he had been elected aedile only in the preceding year. In 146 he captured Carthage and received a magnificent triumph. In 134 he was again elected consul, and in the following year captured Numantia in Spain.

THE SCIPIO FAMILY.





the time of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus he expressed approval of the deed, and thus lost the favor of the people. In 129 he forcibly opposed in the Senate the execution of the agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus, and was escorted to his home amid great enthusiasm on the part of the Italians who benefited by his opposition to the reform measures. On the following morning he was found dead, and his opponents, particularly Carbo, the leader of the people's faction, were suspected of murder. Scipio was a man of singular purity and disinterestedness, of wide cultivation, and a great taste for literature. Even from youth he was a devoted student, especially interested in the learning obtained from the Greeks. He was the intimate friend of literary men, notably Polybius the historian and Panaetius the Stoic. These qualities together with the ability he displayed as a soldier rendered him in Cicero's eyes the ideal Roman statesman.

At the assumed time of this dialogue he was thirty-five years old, and all his great achievements were yet to come, although Cato (§ 19) is made to express a kind of prophetic hope of them.

(2) Laelius. — Gaius Laelius Sapiens, born in the year before Scipio, B.C. 186, was associated with him in every event of his public career, as well as in the closest personal and private intercourse.

His introduction here as a speaker followed naturally from that of Scipio. Their friendship was famous, and where Scipio was, there Laelius was likely to be; Cicero has celebrated their intimacy in his Laelius de Amicitia. Laelius was a brave and skilful soldier, being second in command at the capture of Carthage. He held also the civil offices of tribune, praetor, and finally consul, the last in 140. Laelius also represented, even more than Scipio, the learning and culture of the day. His cognomen, Sapiens, he acquired, as others had done, from his deep knowledge of jurisprudence; and as a politician, though not so eminent, he was, like Scipio, in opposition to the extreme party which was headed by the Gracchi.

(3) Cato. — In the last quarter of the third century B.c. one of the best and most upright of the patricians, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, had a country house near Tusculum. While staying there, he was often told by his slaves about the owner of a small estate in his neighborhood. This young man had acquired a great reputation among his neighbors for the vigor and industry with which he cultivated his farm, for the rugged honesty of his character, for the raciness of his wit and the homely wisdom of his conversation, as well as by his power of eloquence displayed in local courts, and his rigid fairness when acting as arbitrator.

The curiosity of Flaccus was roused. He asked his neighbor to dinner, perceived the sterling worth and energy of his character and, believing that he had found a man able and willing to cope with the growing corruption and effeminacy of Roman life, persuaded him to come to Rome and take his chance with other rising citizens in civil life.¹

This young man was Marcus Porcius Cato. His family — belonging to the plebeian gens Porcia — had formerly been distinguished by the cognomen of Priscus, but the reputation of his father or grandfather among his neighbors for good sense (says Plutarch) had caused them to receive the name of Cato, formed from the word catus, 'shrewd.' Both the father and grandfather had served as soldiers, but neither had held office, and Marcus was therefore a novus homo when he came to Rome. Still, as Tusculum was a municipium cum suffragio, he was a full citizen, and, if he resided at Rome and showed himself in the forum as taking part in public business, had as good a chance of being elected to office as another.³

The date of his birth is variously given (B.C. 234-

¹ Plutarch, Cato, 5; Nepos, Cato, 1. ² Plutarch, Cato, 1; Nepos, Cato, 1.

³ Cic. De Legg. 2, 2, 5, cum ortu Tusculanus esset, civitate Romanus, habuit alteram loci patriam alteram juris. Cp. Pro Sull. § 23, and De Rep. 1, 1, 1.

231); but the year 214 is quite certainly that in which he first served in the Roman army, after having spent his boyhood almost wholly in agriculture. In this year he served either at Capua or 8.C. in Sicily, possibly both, and during the next ten vears we hear of him as in the army of Fabius at the recapture of Tarentum, and in that of Clau-B.C. dius Nero at the battle of the Metaurus. In these B.C. campaigns he gained the reputation of an excellent soldier and distinguished himself by his moderation in food and drink and by the immense powers of endurance which he displayed on the march. He served under several commanders, but it was to Fabius that he most attached himself; and it was his party in the State which he joined when he began to take part in politics, against the rising party of Scipio, which consisted of those who were tired of the old-fashioned methods of Fabius.2

Having completed the term of purely military $^{\text{B.C.}}_{205}$ service expected from a Roman citizen, he became a candidate for office, and at the end of 206 was

¹ Cicero (*De Sen.* § 10) says Capua; Nepos says Sicily. But Nepos says also that in B.C. 214 he was a *Tribunus militum*, which, according to Polybius (6, 19), he could not have been until he had served ten years, whereas Nepos himself asserts that he was only seventeen in B.C. 214. Cicero places his birth in B.C. 234, the year before the first consulship of Fabius Maximus.

 $^{^2}$ 'He learned war under Scipio or rather under Hannibal' (Pliny, $H.\ N.\ \mathrm{præf.}\ 20)$.

elected a quaestor for the following year; and, when the quaestors drew lots for their sphere of service, Cato's fell to serve under P. Cornelius Scipio, whose 'province' was to be Sicily, with leave (obtained in spite of the opposition of Fabius) to carry the war into Africa if it seemed to him in the interest of the Republic to do so.1 The quaestor's duties were mainly connected with finance, and Cato soon found himself at variance with his chief, who had little regard for economy, lived in great style, and was for sparing nothing which could help him to realize his project of finishing the Hannibalian War. Plutarch tells us that some remonstrance of Cato's received from Scipio the answer 'that such a careful quaestor did not suit a man whose sails were set for Africa.'2 And though, when Scipio's imperium was continued in the next year (204), Cato remained with the army with the same quaestorian power, and with the army crossed over to Africa, acting under Laelius in convoying the naves onerariae from Lilybaeum, he appears not to have remained when, in the third year (203), Scipio's imperium was indefinitely extended 'until he should have finished B.C. the war.' Some time in this year he returned by way of Sardinia, the ordinary course for those com-

² Plutarch, Cat. 3. ¹ Livy, 29, 25; Plutarch, Cat. 3.

ing from Africa. There, we may remember with interest, he met Ennius; and, recognizing his ability, induced him to come with him to Rome. Once more at home, he seems to have joined the party opposed to Scipio, though Fabius, the aged leader of that party, was now dead (ob. 203). He declaimed against Scipio's extravagance and his oppressive measures in Sicily, and appears to have so far gained a hearing that commissioners were sent into Sicily to make enquiries. But Scipio's brilliant successes in Africa, for a time at least, silenced all tongues; and the news of the battle of Zama (202) made him the greatest man in Rome. And though we have no account of Cato's reconciliation with the Scipios, yet the marriage of his son at a later time with the sister of the vounger Africanus seems to point to it.1

Cato's rugged simplicity, upon which his experience in the Greek cities of Sicily had had no effect, joined to his manifest oratorical ability, secured the favor of the people, and at the end of 200 he was elected one of the plebeian aediles, ^{B.C.} whose duties were connected principally with the public buildings and baths used by the lower orders.

¹ Plutarch seems to ignore his going to Africa, and says that he returned from Sicily and attacked the extravagance of Scipio (*Cat.* § 3); but see Livy, 29, 25.

At the Comitia of 199 he was elected one of the praetors, and drew as his 'province' Sardinia. Thither he was appointed to go with 3000 infantry and 200 cavalry, to relieve and disband the army which was in the island. In 215 Sardinia had been finally reduced to obedience by the Romans under Titus Manlius, and the Carthaginian army of invasion had been driven out. The cities had a fixed amount of tribute in money and corn imposed upon them, and a Roman garrison was maintained in the island under the command of one of the praetors of the year, who resided at Caruli (Cagliari), the chief naval station on the south.

was noted for its exactness and freedom from corruption. He lived in a most unostentatious way, practising rigid economy and declining the entertainments and gifts which were commonly provided by provincials for Roman officers. Cato visited the towns of his province on foot and attended by one slave. He was relieved in the next year by Lucius Atilius, and no doubt returned to Rome and his farm at Tusculum, for in the following year he would have to be attending to his canvass for the consulship. This seems to have been assured to him now, although he was a very different kind of

Cato's administration of the affairs of the island

¹ Livy, 31, 27-8; Plutarch, Cat. 6.

man from the generality of those who won their way to the highest places at Rome.

The Romans of this age, however, were not yet corrupted by the bribery of a later time, and they could recognize worth and manliness. Cato was elected consul at the end of 196, with his old friend Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and when the consular provinces were allotted, Spain fell to him. 18. C. Spain was not yet reduced into two regular provinces. The Romans were in military occupation of it, and one army was in the south under the command of a praetor, while the consul had charge of all that lay to to the north of the Ebro, where Cato found the warlike tribes which occupied it in a very disturbed state.

But before he started for his province he appeared in public as an opponent of the repeal of the Lex Oppia, a sumptuary law passed in B.C. 215 forbidding any woman to have more than half an ounce of gold ornament, or to ride in a carriage in Rome or any other town except at public sacrifices.² In spite of Cato's opposition the repeal was carried.

Cato then went to his province as early in the B.C. spring as possible. The modesty of equipment with which he started upon his praetorian government

¹ Livy, 33, 42.

could not be entirely maintained in this higher office, but he reduced everything as far as he could. He started with only three slaves, but on reaching the Forum concluded that the dignity of his office demanded a larger retinue of attendants, and he therefore purchased two more.¹

He started with 25 ships of war, and sailing along the coast finally landed at Emporiae, where he established a permanent camp. Here he lured the enemy to battle by stratagem, and defeated them with considerable slaughter, although previous to the contest he had been placed in a most dangerous position.²

The Spaniards submitted on all sides, and were treated by Cato with leniency, though he deprived all the native states to the north of the Ebro of their arms, and levelled their fortifications, and in some cases of obstinate revolt sold the garrison as slaves.³ Before he left Spain, where his minute attention to details of government and his personal example of simplicity of life and honesty had had an admirable effect, he succeeded in relieving the praetor, who was in great straits among the Tuditani, and on his return to his own province further secured it by storming several strongholds of banditti, who in the

¹ Cato's works, Or. fr. 3, ed. Jordan.

² Livy, 34, 8-12; Cato, Or. fr. 1, § 8.

³ Livy, 34, 16.

state of disturbance lately existing had taken the opportunity of exercising their lawless trade.¹

When the time came for him to hand over his province to his successor, he could boast that he left it in a thorough state of order and loyalty. He had crushed the robbers; he had so managed that the tribute to the Roman treasury from the country was exceptionally large, owing to the iron and silver mines, the working of which he had encouraged; finally, there was no state or city throughout North Spain but acknowledged the supremacy and praised the justice of Rome.

Cato returned to Rome and was allowed to enter the city in a triumph, in which he carried 25,000 lbs. of uncoined silver, 123,000 bigati, 540 oscenses,² 1400 lbs. of gold, and deposited them in the treasury. He distributed also a bounty of 270 asses to each foot-soldier, and treble that sum to each cavalry-man. For the rest of this and the next two ^{B.C.}
years he seems to have remained at home, for we ¹⁹²
find him dedicating a temple to Victoria Virgo in 193, which he had vowed on some occasion two years before.³

In 191 Cato went as legatus consularis in the B.C.

¹ Livy, 34, 17-21.

² That is, silver coins with the stamp of Osca, the mod. Huesca in Aragon.

³ Livy, 35, 9.

staff of Manius Acilius into Greece to fight King Antiochus. While Acilius marched with his army into Thessaly, Cato was sent to Corinth, Patrae, Aegium, and Athens, to secure those cities from taking part with Antiochus. He stayed some time in Athens, and could not help feeling the charm which, reflected from its glorious past, still rested on that city.

His mission was successful, and later on in the year he rejoined Acilius in Thessaly, and commanded as a tribunus militum in the battle of Thermopylae. Antiochus had blocked up this famous pass, hoping to stop the southward march of the Roman army. Cato, however, who commanded a body of men on the right of the Roman force, determined to find the path over the mountain Callidromus, which he remembered had treacherously been shown to the Persians. This he accomplished after a skirmish with 600 picked Aetolian soldiers, whom he drove from the mountain, and then descending the hill, joined in the pursuit of Antiochus' army, now in full retreat.

For this brilliant service Cato was rewarded by being sent home to carry the news of the victory. This task he performed with his usual vigor and despatch, reaching Rome late at night after having

¹ Livy, 36, 17; Plutarch, Cat. 12; Cato, Or. fr. 7.

covered on foot the distance from Hydruntum, south of Brundisium (where he landed according to Livy, though Plutarch says Brundisium), in five days, thus anticipating Lucius Scipio, who had been despatched before him. Of the next six years of 190-Cato's life we have no definite account; but Plutarch 184 says that he served as a consular legate in Thrace, a statement which, if true, must refer to the year 188.2 He was in Rome in the following year, in B.C. which Africanus died; for both before and after that event he supported the attacks made upon the Scipios for misappropriation of public money, which were conducted against Lucius Scipio by two tribunes of the name of Petilius; and his speech in support of the rogatio whereby Lucius was condemned was extant in Livy's day.3 He, moreover, engaged in an attack upon his commander in Greece, Acilius Glabrio, for a similar reason⁴, and on various occasions spoke in strong terms of the luxury which was beginning to prevail.

¹ Livy, 36, 18; Plutarch, Cat. 13.

² But Plutarch's assertion that he served under Tiberius Sempronius the consul, in subduing the regions bordering on Thrace and the country of the Danube, must be inaccurate; for Longus, who was consul in B.C. 193, served that and the next year against the Boil, and there was no expedition against Thrace for some years after (i.e. B.C. 188, Livy, 38, 42). Cato may, however, have served under Longus in Gallia.

³ Livy, 38, 54; Aulus Gell. 4, 18.

⁴ Cato's works, Or. fr. 13.

At the comitia of 185, Cato was elected to the censorship along with his former colleague, L. Valerius Flaccus.¹ He now had an opportunity of B.C. showing by practical measures what he thought was necessary as a cure for the state of things he had so often denounced. The office was one of great dignity, was held for eighteen months instead of the twelve to which the other curule magistrates were limited, and enabled its holders to make themselves felt in the city in a variety of ways, not only in the matter of public morals, but as regards the public comfort, so far as it depended upon the serviceable condition of some of the most necessary public Thus Cato lined the reservoirs of structures. water with flagstones and cut off the pipes of water which had been illegally laid to private houses from the public supply; cleaned out the old cloacae, and constructed new ones in the plebeian quarter of the city, the Aventine; secured certain open spaces for the public use, and forced those who had built their houses into the street to pull down their encroachments within thirty days; and built a basilica (the Porcia) and certain shops. But it was in the discharge of the other functions of a censor that Cato, firmly supported by his colleague, made his greatest reputation. His chief duties were to revise

¹ For Cato's censorship, see Livy, 39, 40-41; Plutarch, Cato, 16-19.

the list of the Senate, to fill up vacancies, to name the Princeps Senatus, and to strike off the list the names of such senators as had disgraced themselves by any crime, or had become bankrupt. He had also in the same way to review the equites, and to deprive of his horse whoever had in a similar manner become unworthy of his ordo. The censors carried out this duty with severity; seven names were struck off the list of the Senate, a far larger number than had for many years been so degraded, among them Lucius, the brother of the great Flamininus, for a disgraceful crime committed in Gaul. Among those whom he deprived of their horses in the review of the knights was Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, or Asigenes, the brother of Africanus, to whose condemnation he had contributed some years before, and who had been a competitor for the censorship.1 Thus he did not hesitate to strike at the highest and noblest in the city, if he looked upon them as guilty of fraud or disgraceful immorality. Some of the reasons assigned for his action, however, seem ridiculous. He appears to have insisted that the knights should be able to ride, and therefore deprived some fat men of their rank, whereas the horse of the eques already had become or was rapidly becoming a mere formality. At the same time he took advan-

¹ This, however, was regarded as spiteful and tyrannical, Plutarch, Cato, 18.

tage of his position to suppress extravagance by sumptuary regulations. He imposed a heavy tax on all slaves under twenty who had been bought for more than ten sestertia, and he taxed all perisi sonal ornaments of higher value than 1500 denarii at ten times their actual worth. Such measures were sure to involve a man in many enmities, and Cato was in fact constantly engaged in lawsuits for the rest of his life as prosecutor or defendant. Plutarch (Cato, 15) says that he was defendant in nearly fifty suits. When defending himself at the age of eighty-six, he naturally complained that 'it was hard to have lived in one generation and to make one's defence in another,' but in fact he kept up his vigor and interest in affairs so thoroughly that he, less than most old men, can be said to have outlived his day.

183-167

The next seventeen years of Cato's public life seems to have been passed in these litigations; but his private life presents the more attractive picture of a devoted father giving his earnest attention to the education of his son. He is said to have taken the warmest interest in the bringing up of this boy even from his infancy. He constantly witnessed the washing and dressing of the child: he would allow no one but himself to teach him letters; he wrote

¹ Plutarch, Cato, 19-23. Cf. also the fragments of Cato's works, ad Marcum filium, ed. Jordan, p. 77.

a history especially for his study; and, as he grew older, addressed books to him on rhetoric, morals, agriculture, and medicine. The last named work arose from his distrust and dislike of doctors, against whom he warns his son, fancying, like some other people, that he had certain specifics able to cure man and beast. The boy on whom Cato bestowed so much pains appears to have shown promise of being worthy of such a father. He was serving with credit in the war against Perses (171-168) 171when Cato addressed him a letter warning him not to fight after having been discharged by his commanding officer.1 This must have been in 171, in which year young Cato is described as a tiro, i.e. on his first campaign, which puts his birth at about 189-188. An anecdote is told of him that having been surrounded by the enemy, he lost in the scuffle his sword, which he afterwards took infinite pains to search for among the heaps of slain, and which, to his father's great satisfaction, he succeeded in finding.2

Meanwhile Cato was leading his usual life between his Sabine farm and Rome, busied in agriculture at Tusculum, and in quarrels and lawsuits in the city. One amiable feature in this latter activity is that many of the prosecutions which he con-

¹ Cic. De Off. 1, 36. ² Plutarch, Cat. 20; Polyb. 6, 37.

ducted or supported were in defence of the nationalities now under Roman power, and already suffering from the harshness or rapacity of the Roman officials. Thus he took up the cause of the Sicilians against Scipio, of the Spaniards against more than one proconsul; and when the punishment of the Rhodians for the assistance rendered by them to Perses was to be determined, Cato was on the B.c. side of mercy. But, though he was for a merciful and just treatment of the provincials, he had a more than Roman contempt for them, especially if they were Greek. This showed itself when the famous Greek philosophers Carneades the Academic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic, came to Rome as ambassadors in 155.2 The manner in which the Roman youths B.C. crowded to hear their discourses alarmed him, and, after listening to the sceptical Carneades, he declared it impossible to tell what was truth, and urged the Senate to answer the envoys at 154-once and get rid of such dangerous guests. He desired to have all Greeks expelled from Italy, and prophesied the destruction of Rome through Greek influences. A few years later on (151), he was impatient of the debate on the question as to whether certain Achaean exiles should

¹ Livy, 45, 25

² Plutarch, Cat. 22; Pliny, N.H. 7, 112-113; Polyb. 32, 25.

be allowed to return to their country: 'Have we nothing better to do,' said he, 'than to discuss all day long whether some old Greek dotards should be buried by Italian or by Achaean undertakers?'

Cato was now past eighty, but his active life was not over. In 151 he went as one of the ten com-151 missioners to Carthage to investigate the complaint against the Carthaginians for having the army of Syphax in their territory, presumably with a view to some breach of their treaty with Rome, which had prohibited them from the use of an armed force. What he saw there seems to have much impressed him with the danger still menacing Rome from that quarter, so much indeed that with wearisome iteration he demanded the final destruction of the town, and, whenever he was called upon for his sententia in the Senate, he always ended his speech with the words, 'ceterum censeo delendam esse Karthaginem, a policy that was continually opposed by Scipio, who advocated more moderate measures. It was on one of these occasions that he brought some green figs into the Senate, to illustrate the nearness of Carthage, from which fruit could be brought so fresh.2

The last years of his life were saddened by the

¹ Polybius, 35, 6.

² Livy, Epit. 48.

death of his elder son in 152, who died just after being elected practor for the following year. His younger son was the child of a second wife, born when Cato was eighty years of age.

B.C. The last public appearance recorded of Cato was made in the cause for which he had all his life fought. The practor Galba had treacherously enslaved some of the Lusitani who had trusted him, and, when their cause was referred to Rome, Cato spoke on the side of justice and generosity. Galba. indeed, escaped by the usual means of moving the people's pity, appearing in mourning and leading his two young sons by the hand; 1 still, Cato had spoken for the last time on the right side. His death followed shortly afterwards; but he had time to write his speech and insert it in his Annales, which were extant in Cicero's time.2 Of his death we know B.C. nothing beyond its date. The death of so old a man was likely to be sudden and gentle, and his activity up to the last shows that it was preceded by no painful illness; ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit, nec subito frangitur sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

If we would judge fairly of Cato, we must compare him with his contemporaries, and if we do so, it

 $^{^1}$ Livy, $Epit.\,49\,;$ Cic. $Pro~Mur.\,359\,;$ $Brut.\,\S 89\,;$ Cato, $Or.\,fr.$ lib. 7.

² Nepos, Cato, § 4; Cic. De Or. 1, § 227.

will be difficult to overestimate the sterling virtues of his character. In an age of growing luxury he preserved the simplicity and frugality of a countryman; amidst a selfish aristocracy just beginning to revel in the wealth that could be extracted from the crushed provinces, and in inflicting the cruelty so dear to those who enjoy a new and unlimited power, he showed a conspicuous example of moderation, justice, and disinterestedness. A man of undoubted courage himself, which he showed again and again in the field, no success and no glory served to protect a man from his attack, if he believed him fraudulent or tyrannical. In an age too in which the domestic virtues were falling into neglect, and the care of children was being rapidly delegated to slaves, he devoted himself with delight and success to the training of his young son. On the other side it may be urged that his view of politics was narrow and ultra-Roman. The provincials whom he protected he also despised. The idea that Roman life or Roman literature could be improved by contact with Greek thought or culture he long laughed to scorn. And it was only late in life that he gave way so far as to study the literature of the wonderful people who were to be captured and yet to capture. Again, though he shone as a father and husband, his views of the claims of a slave upon the common rights of humanity were

xxxiv

such as will shock us as it did the noble and kindly Plutarch. He regarded slaves as mere beasts of burden, and advises that when they grow old and unfit for hard work they should be sold, a measure which, as Plutarch says, a merciful man will not employ towards his horse or his ox; whereas Cato boasted that he had sold the warhorse which had carried him in his Spanish campaigns to save the state the expense of its carriage home.

What rendered Cato notable in the eyes of his contemporaries, even more than his character as an officer or an economist, was his caustic wit. His shrewd and pithy sayings were passed from mouth to mouth, and have been preserved in considerable numbers by the various authors who have written of him, or who have had occasion to refer to them. 'Petty thieves,' he exclaimed, 'are in the stocks, our public thieves are in gold and purple,' a saying which must have galled many of his contemporaries. 'I wish the forum were paved with sharp shells,' he said, as he watched the idle quidnuncs lounging about. 'The belly has no ears,' he said, when dissuading the people against some measure meant to cheapen the supply of corn. 'Antiochus,' he exclaimed in contempt, 'thinks to wage war by pen

¹ Plutarch, Cato, 5. A chapter well worth studying for its profound humanity and almost Christian charity.

and ink.' His advice to his son in the practice of oratory, 'To take care of the sense, and the words will take care of themselves,' shows a clear and practical grasp of the subject. And his exhortation to the equites in Spain rises to a still higher level: 'Remember,' said he, 'that if you do good in spite of its causing you trouble, the trouble will soon pass, the good will remain: but if you do ill for pleasure, the pleasure will quickly be gone, the ill thing will remain.' His pride perhaps may be credited with his saying that 'he could pardon everyone's ill-doing except his own'; or 'that he would have no statue, for he preferred men's asking why there was no statue of Cato, to their asking why there was one.' And indeed Plutarch notices that he never hesitated to praise himself, and would excuse the shortcomings of others on the ground that they were not Catos. But his vanity - if it is so to be called - was a failing that 'leaned to virtue's side,' and may be allowed to pass in such an assemblage of fine qualities.

Of his works but little remains. He is said to have composed various elementary treatises for his son's education, and particularly a history written

¹ A fairly complete collection of Cato's dicta will be found in H. Jordan's edition of the fragments, Leipsic, 1870. Plutarch collects a number of them in the 8th and 9th chs. of his biography.

in large letters for the child to learn from. But of his more serious works we know of —

- (1) De Re Rustica, a treatise on agriculture (§ 54). This has come down to us in a fairly complete form, and Cicero had evidently studied it for the purpose of writing this dialogue in character. It is a curious medley of rules for the cultivation of vines and olives, for the manuring and digging of the ground, and for managing the homestead and the slaves with economy, along with medical recipes (for, as we have seen, he distrusted doctors and thought himself wise in this matter), and some religious formulae for averting the wrath or securing the favor of the country gods. He gives also a number of recipes for cooking dishes, making cakes, and the like.
- (2) The Origines (§ 38). Cato seems to have begun this work with the idea of treating only on early Roman history, and the origin of the Roman state and of the various neighboring towns,—a kind of compendium of local antiquities. But his plan gradually extended to the writing of the history of Rome down to his own day, (the book is thus sometimes spoken of as Annales), and he added to it up to the last days of his life. It has all perished with the exception of a few insignificant fragments; but it was much used by subsequent writers, though Cicero says it was thin and dry (exilis—De Legg. 1.

- 2, 6). The first book told the story of the Kings; the second and third, the origins of the Italian civitates; the fourth, the First Punic War; the fifth, the Second Punic War; the sixth and seventh, the history of Rome from the end of that war to the last days of Cato's life.
- (3) Besides this he collected the numerous speeches which he had delivered (§ 38). This work has not come down to us at all, except some fragments preserved by other writers.
- (4) There were also once existing a number of his letters, which Cicero knew: and some treatises on law (commentarii) § 38, of which Cicero says he had a great knowledge (De Or. 1, § 171).

Such was the man whom Cicero makes the chief speaker in his dialogue, and whom he evidently had labored hard to represent dramatically in as lifelike a form as was possible. It will be acknowledged that no one could have been found more fitted to speak on the pleasures and labors of which old age is capable than one who had passed fourscore years of uninterrupted activity, from which he never retired until removed by an old man's swift and quiet death.

ANALYSIS.

Introduction: Sections 1-9.

- a) Address to Atticus, 1-3.
 - 1) Dedication.
 - 2) Plan of the work, 3.
- b) Introductory dialogue, 4-9.

Scipio and Laelius, admiring Cato's old age, ask him to tell them the secret of true happiness in declining years. Cato agreeing to do so, declares that character is the controlling element.

Monologue: Defence of Old Age, 10-85.

- Argument from the lives of famous old men, in proof of the fact that old age may be useful and happy.
 - a) Fabius Maximus, 10-12.
 - b) Plato, c) Isocrates, d) Gorgias, 13.
 - e) Ennius, 14.
- II. Four erroneous opinions as to old age, 15-85.
 - 1) It withdraws from active life.

Answer:

- a) Certain duties are appropriate to old men, 15-20.
- b) The learned of Greece and the lowly Sahin
- c) The learned of Greece and the lowly Sabine farmer toil in old age, 23-26.
- 2) Age weakens our bodies.

Answer:

- a) There is no need for youthful strength, 27–32.
- b) Weakness in age is due often to the vices of youth, 33-34.
- c) Ill health does not belong to old age alone, 35.
- d) Proper care and attention to intellectual pursuits preserve the health, 36–38.

3) Age deprives us of pleasure.

Answer:

- a) The pleasure thought of is mainly sensual, from which it is a gain to be freed, 39-44.
- b) Old age has its own delights, 45-64: intellectual pursuits, 45-50; agriculture, 51-60; influence due to an upright life, 61-62; marks of respect paid to old age, 63-64.
- c) Peevishness, moroseness, and avariciousness in old men belong to individual characters, and are not general, 65.
- 4) Old age is near death.

Answer:

- a) Death is not an evil, 66.
- b) The young may die, they are more liable to disease, 67-68.
- c) The death of the old man is natural and without struggle, 69-71.
- d) The fruition of life, its limit, and natural close are not to be regretted, 72-76.
- e) It leads to immortality, 77-84.
 - 1) The Pythagorean doctrine of the world-soul, 77.
 - 2) Plato's arguments, 78.
 - 3) Cyrus' teachings to his sons, 79-81.
 - 4) Belief in immortality an inspiration to great deeds, 82.
 - 5) The longing of the soul to meet those honored and loved, 83-84.
- Conclusion: Death, whether leading to immortality or not, is natural, and as the close of a long life should be regarded as appropriate, 85.

CICERO'S WORKS.

Philosophical.

POLITICAL.

De Republica (54 B.C.), in six books, of which only a third remains. Cicero considers the best form of government, and takes as his model the Roman State before the days of the Gracchi. Book VI. contains the famous Somnium Scipionis, which treats of the rewards of patriotic statesmen.

De Legibus (begun 52, resumed 46, but never completed), in three books. Cicero treats of the laws for the model state.

ETHICAL.

De Officiis (44), in three books. This is a treatise on practical ethics, addressed to his son. Philosophy is here applied to the guidance of conduct.

De Senectute (Cato Maior) (44).

 $De\ Amicitia\ (Laelius)\ (44).$ Benefits and duties of friendship.

 $De\ Gloria\ (44),$ in two books, now lost.

De Consolatione (45), extant in fragments. It was written after the death of his daughter Tullia.

RHETORICAL.

De Inventione Rhetorica (circa 84), in two books. On the subject-matter in oratory.

De Oratore (55), in three books. This consists of dialogues between famous orators and treats of the education of an orator, also the form and delivery of speeches.

De Claris Oratoribus or Brutus (46). History of Roman oratory.

- Orator ad M. Brutum (46). The ideal orator.
- Partitiones Oratoriae (46). Survey of all Rhetoric.
- Topica (44). Explanation of the Topica of Aristotle.
- De Optimo Genere Oratorum (44). A preface to the translation of the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes, for and against Ctesiphon. The translation is now lost.

SPECULATIVE.

- Academicae Quaestiones (45), in two books. An exposition of the philosophy of the New Academy. Probability is the foundation of philosophy.
- De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum (45), in five books. A compilation of the doctrines of the Greek school concerning the summum bonum.
- Tusculanae Disputationes (45), in five books. A consideration of questions of practical philosophy.
- Paradoxa Stoicorum (46). A defence of the Stoic paradoxes; e.g. 'Virtue is sufficient for happiness,' 'Good and evil admit of no degrees.'
- De Philosophia or Hortensius (46), only fragments remain.

 A dialogue giving praise of philosophy.
- Timaeus (45), extant in fragments. A paraphrase of the Timaeus of Plato, discussing the origin of the universe.

THEOLOGICAL.

- $D\varepsilon$ Natura Deorum (44), in three books. A consideration of the principal theories as to the nature and powers of the gods.
- De Divinatione (44), in two books. Arguments for and against the truth of divination.
- De Fato (44), extant only in a fragment. A discussion as to fate and free will.

Letters.

Epistulae ad Familiares (62–43), in sixteen books. Epistulae ad Atticum (68–43), in sixteen books. Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem (60–54), in three books. Epistulae ad M. Brutum, in two books.

Orations.

We have knowledge of over one hundred orations assigned to Cicero. Of these, fifty-seven now remain entire, about twenty are known from fragments, and thirty-three by title.

Poems.

We have fragments of some of Cicero's poetical writings. About eighty lines remain of his poem entitled *De Consulatu Meo*. He is also said to have written a continuation of this poem under the title *De Meis Temporibus*.

putāssent.1 Prīmum 2 quis coēgit eos falsum putāre? Quī³ enim citius adulēscentiae senectūs quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde 2 qui minus gravis esset eīs senectūs, sī octingentēsimum annum agerent quam sī octōgēsimum? Praeterita 5 enim aetās guamvīs longa cum effluxisset,4 nūlla consolatio permulcere posset 5 stultam senectutem. 5. Quōcircā sī sapientiam meam admīrārī solētis (quae utinam dīgna esset 6 opīnione vestrā nostroque cognomine!), in hoc sumus sapientes, quod natūram 10 optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eque pārēmus; ā quā non vērī simile est, cum cēterae partēs aetātis bene dēscrīptae sint, extrēmum āctum tamquam ab inertī poētā esse neglēctum. tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extrēmum et, tam- 15 quam in arborum bācīs terraeque frūctibus mātūritāte tempestīvā guasi viētum et cadūcum, guod ferundum 7 est molliter sapientī. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modō bellāre cum dīs nisi nātūrae repūgnāre?

¹ putassent, A. & G. 336, 2; G. & L. 650; H. 524.

² Primum, deinde, A. & G. 151, d; H. 554, 1, n. 2.

³ Qui, A. & G. 104, c; G. & L. 106, n. 2; H. 188, II. 2.

⁴ effluxisset, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 663, 1; H. 529, II. ⁵ posset, A. & G. 311; G. & L. 600, 2; H. 510.

⁶ esset, A. & G. 267; G. & L. 260, 261; H. 483, 2.

⁷ ferundum, A. & G. 126, f, n. 2; G. & L. 130, 8; H. 239.

Scīpiō and Laelius. 'Tell us how you came to take so rational a view.'

6. Laelius. Atquī, Catō, grātissimum nōbīs, ut etiam prō Scīpiōne pollicear,¹ fēceris, sī, quoniam spērāmus, volumus quidem certē senēs fierī, multō ante ā tē didicerimus, quibus facillimē ratiōnibus 5 ingravēscentem aetātem ferre possīmus.

Catō. Faciam vērō, Laelī, praesertim sī utrīque vestrūm, ut dīcis, grātum futūrum est.

Laelius. Volumus sānē, nisi molestum est, Catō, tamquam longam aliquam viam cōnfēceris,² quam³
10 nōbīs quoque ingrediundum sit, istūc, quō pervēnistī vidēre quāle sit.

CHAPTER III.

Catō. 'When men find fault with old age, it is usually their own characters and tempers that are to blame.'

Laelius. 'Very well for a prosperous man like you, Cato!

How about the less fortunate?'

- Catō. ''Tis but Themistocles and the Seriphian over again.

 Poverty cannot embitter some men's old age nor wealth sweeten that of others.'
- 7. Catō. Faciam, ut poterō, Laelī. Saepe enim interfuī querēllīs aequālium meōrum parēs autem,

¹ pollicear, A. & G. 317, c; G. &. L. 545, 3, Rem. 3; H. 499, 2, n.

² confecer's, A. & G. 312, Rem.; G. & L. 602; H. 513, II. n. 1. ³ quam...ingrediundum, A. & G. 294, c; G. & L. 427, n. 2; H. 371, I. 2, 2), n.

⁴ potero, A. & G. 278, b; G. & L. 242, 1; H. 470, 2.

vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur — quae¹ C. Salīnātor, quae Sp. Albīnus, hominēs consulares nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptātibus carērent² sine quibus vītam nūllam³ putārent,² tum quod spernerentur² ab eīs, ā 5 quibus essent colī solitī. Quī mihi non id vidēbantur accūsāre, quod esset accūsandum.4 Nam sī id culpā senectūtis accideret, eadem mihi ūsū venīrent reliquisque omnibus māioribus nātū, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectūtem sine querēllā, 10 quī sē et libīdinum vinculīs laxātōs esse non molestē ferrent nec 6 ā suīs dēspicerentur. Sed omnium istīus modī guerēllārum in mōribus est culpa, nōn in aetāte. Moderātī enim et nec difficilēs nec inhūmānī senēs tolerābilem senectūtem agunt; im- 15 portunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8. Laelius. Est, ut dīcis, Catō; sed fortāsse dīxerit quispiam tibi propter opēs et cōpiās et dīgnitātem tuam tolerābiliōrem senectūtem vidērī, id 20 autem nōn posse multīs contingere.

Catō. Est istūc quidem, Laelī, aliquid, sed nēquāquam in istō sunt omnia. Ut Themistoclēs

¹ quae, A. & G. 199, b; G & L. 614, 3, a; H. 445, 5.
² putarent, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 663; H. 529, II. n. 1.

³ nullam, A. & G. 239; H. 373, 1, n. 2.

⁴ esset accusandum, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 1; H. 503, I.

⁵ sine querella, A. & G. 179; H. 359, n. 1, 4), and n. 3.

⁶ et . . . nec, G. & L. 480, Rem. 3, n. 3, c.

fertur Serīphiō cuīdam in iūrgiō respondisse, cum ille dīxisset non eum suā, sed patriae gloriā splendorem adsecutum: 'Nec hercule,' inquit, 'sī ego Serīphius essem, nec tū, sī Athēniensis clārus um-5 quam fuissēs.' Quod eōdem modō dē senectūte dīcī potest. Nec enim in summā inopiā levis esse senectūs potest nē sapientī quidem, nec īnsipientī etiam in summā copiā non gravis.² 9. Aptissima omnīnō sunt, Scīpiō et Laelī, arma senectūtis artēs 10 exercitātionēsque virtūtum, quae in omnī aetāte cultae, cum diū multumque vīxeris,3 mīrificos ecferunt frūctūs, non solum quia numquam deserunt, nē extrēmō quidem tempore aetātis (quamquam id quidem māximum est), vērum etiam quia conscien-15 tia bene āctae vītae multōrumque bene factōrum recordātiō iūcundissima est.

¹ $ne \dots quidem$, A. & G. 151, e, 209, a, 1; G. & L. 448, 2, 445; H. 553, 2), 569, III. 2.

non gravis, A. & G. 209, 3, c; G. & L. 700; H. 637, VIII.
 vixeris, A. & G. 309, a; G. & L. 580; H. 518, 2.

CHAPTER IV.

- 'Why, old age is the very time for great achievements! Remember (1) Q. Fabius Maximus, an old man when he recovered Tarentum, when he took the lead in politics, when he served as augur; (2) Plato dying at 81 while writing; (3) Isocrates composing the Panathenaicus at 94; (4) Gorgias working at rhetoric to 104; (5) Ennius at 70, poor, yet cheerful and active.'
- 10. Ego Q. Māximum, eum quī Tarentum recēpit, senem adulēscēns ita dīlēxī, ut aequālem; erat enim in illō virō cōmitāte condīta gravitās, nec senectūs mōrēs mūtāverat. Quamquam eum colere coepī nōn admodum grandem nātū, sed tamen iam aetāte 5 prōvectum. Annō¹ enim post cōnsul prīmum fuerat quam ego nātus sum, cumque eō quārtum cōnsule adulēscentulus mīles² ad Capuam³ profectus sum quīntōque annō post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadrienniō post factus sum, quem magistrātum⁴ rogessī cōnsulibus Tuditānō et Cethēgō, cum quidem ille admodum senex suāsor lēgis Cinciae dē dōnīs et mūneribus fuit. Hīc et bella gerēbat ut adulēscēns, cum plānē grandis esset. et Hannibalem

¹ Anno, A. & G. 250; G. & L. 403, n. 4; H. 423, n. 2.

² miles, A. & G. 186, c; G. & L. 325; H. 363, 3, 2). ³ ad Capuam, A. & G. 258, 1, b, n. 2; G. & L. 337, 4; H. 380, II. 1, (1).

⁴ magistratum, A. & G. 201, d; G. &. L. 616, 2, 324.

5

iuvenīliter exsultantem patientiā suā molliēbat; dē quō praeclārē familiāris noster Ennius:

Ūnus homō nōbīs cunctandō restituit rem, Noenum rūmōrēs pōnēbāt ante salūtem : Ergō plūsque magisque virī nunc glōria clāret.

11. Tarentum vērō quā vigilantiā, quō cōnsiliō recēpit! cum quidem mē audiente Salīnātōrī, quī āmissō oppidō fūgerat in arcem, glōriantī atque ita dīcentī; 'Meā operā, Q. Fabī, Tarentum recēpistī,' 10 'Certē,' inquit rīdēns, 'nam nisi tū āmīsissēs, numquam recēpissem.' Nec vērō in armīs praestantior quam in togā; quī consul iterum Sp. Carviliō conlēgā quiescente C. Flāminiō tribūnō plēbis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Pīcentem et 15 Gallicum virītim contrā senātūs auctoritātem dīvidentī¹; augurque cum esset,² dīcere ausus est optimīs auspiciīs ea gerī, quae prō reī pūblicae salūte gererentur, quae contrā rem pūblicam ferrentur, contrā auspicia ferrī. 12. Multa in eō virō praeclāra 20 cōgnōvī; sed nihil admīrābilius, quam quō modō ille mortem fīlī tulit clārī virī et consulāris. Est in manibus laudātiō, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vēro ille in lūce modo atque in oculīs cīvium māgnus, sed intus 25 domīgue praestantior. Quī sermō, quae praecepta,

dividenti, A. & G. 290, a; G. & L. 665; H. 549, 1.
 esset, A. & G. 313, d; G. & L. 587; H. 515, III.

quanta nōtitia antīquitātis, scientia iūris augurī! Multae etiam, ut in homine Rōmānō, litterae. Omnia memoriā tenēbat, nōn domestica sōlum, sed etiam externa bella. Cūius sermōne ita¹ tum cupidē fruēbar, quasi iam dīvīnārem² id quod ēvēnit, illō 5 exstinctō, fore, unde dīscerem,³ nēminem.

CHAPTER V.

13. Quōrsus igitur haec tam multa dē Māximō? Quia profectō vidētis nefās esse dictū miseram fuisse tālem senectūtem. Nec tamen omnēs possunt esse Scīpiōnēs aut Māximī, ut urbium expūgnātiōnēs, ut pedestrēs nāvālēsve pūgnās, ut bella ā sē gesta, ut triumphōs recordentur.⁴ Est etiam quiētē et pūrē atque ēleganter āctae aetātis placida āc lēnis senectūs, quālem accēpimus Platōnis, quī ūnō et octōgēsimō 5 annō scrībēns est mortuus, quālem 15 Īsocratis, quī ėum librum, quī Panathēnāicus īnscrībitur, quārtō et nōnāgēsimō annō scrīpsisse sē dīcit, vīxitque quīnquennium posteā; cūius magister Leontīnus Gorgiās centum et septem 6 complēvit

¹ ita, A. & G. 304, b; G. & L. 590, n. 1.

² divinarem, A. & G. 312; G. & L. 602; H. 513, II.

³ discerem, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 2; H. 503, I.

⁴ recordentur, A. & G. 219, b; G. & L. 376, 2; H. 407, n. 1.

⁵ uno et octogesimo, G. & L. 96, 3; H. 174, footnote 3.

⁶ centum et septem, G. & L. 96, 4; H. 174, 1, footnote 1.

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annōs neque umquam in suō studiō atque opere cēssāvit. Quī, cum ex eō quaererētur,¹ cūr tam diū vellet esse in vītā, 'Nihil habeō,' inquit, 'quod² accūsem³ senectūtem.' Praeclārum respōnsum et 5 doctō homine dīgnum. 14. Sua enim vitia īnsipientēs et suam culpam in senectūtem cōnferunt, quod nōn faciēbat is, cūius modo mentiōnem fēcī, Ennius.

Sīcut fortis equus,4 spatiō quī saepe suprēmō Vīcit Olympia, nunc seniō cōnfectus quiēscit.

Equī fortis et vīctōris senectūtī comparat suam. Quem quidem probē meminisse potestis; annō enim ūndēvīcēsimō post ēius mortem hī cōnsulēs T. Flāminīnus et M'. Acīlius factī sunt; ille autem Caepīone et Philippō iterum cōnsulibus mortuus est, cum ego quīnque et sexāgintā annōs nātus lēgem Vocōniam māgnā vōce et bonīs lateribus suāsissem. Annōs septuāgintā nātus (tot enim vīxit Ennius) ita ferēbat duo, quae māxima putantur onera, paupertātem et senectūtem, ut eīs paene dēlectārī vidērētur.

¹ quaereretur, A. & G. 287, e; G. & L. 511, Rem. 1; H. 495, II.

² quod, A. & G. 240, a; G. & L. 334; H. 378, 2.

³ accusem, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 2; H. 503, I. n. 2.

⁴ equus, G. & L. 7.

⁵ victoris, A. & G. 88, c; H. 441, 3.

⁶ meminisse, A. &. G. 219, Rem.; G. & L. 376, Rem. 2; H. 407, n. 1.

- The four charges against old age are: I. It removes us from active business, II. It weakens our bodies, III. It deprives us of pleasures, IV. It is close to death. We will consider these separately.
- 15. Etenim, cum complector animō, quattuor reperiō causās, cūr senectūs misera videātur: ūnam, quod āvocet¹ā rēbus gerendīs; alteram, quod corpus faciat īnfīrmius; tertiam, quod prīvet ferē omnibus voluptātibus; quārtam, quod haud procul absit ā 5 morte. Eārum, sī placet, causārum quanta quamque sit iūsta ūna quaeque, videāmus.

CHAPTER VI.

I. Old age removes us from active business.

From some duties, not all. Some belong especially to old men. If you say that such men as Fabius, Paulus, etc., in their old age do no service to the state, you may as well say that the steersman does no good because he does not row. Bodily vigor is not everything, experience and wisdom count too. I cannot now serve in the field, but am as fatal to Carthage as if I did. Old men in Sparta held the highest authority and gave a name to the Senate. The caution of age is often better than the boldness of youth.

 $\bar{\rm A}$ rēbus gerendīs senectūs abstrahit. Quibus? ² ${\rm An^3}$ eīs, quae iuventūte geruntur et vīribus? Nūl-

¹ avocet, A. & G. 321; G. & L. 541; H. 516, II.

² Quibus, G. & L. 414, Rem. 1 and 2.

³ An, A. & G. 211, b; G. & L. 457; H. 353, 2, n. 4.

laene igitur rēs sunt senīlēs quae, vel īnfīrmīs corporibus, animō tamen administrentur? Nihil ergō agēbat Q. Māximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimī virī, fīlī meī? Cēterī senēs, Fabriciī, 5 Curiī, Coruncāniī, cum rem pūblicam cōnsiliō et auctōritāte dēfendēbant,¹ nihil agēbant? 16. Ad Appī Claudī senectūtem accēdēbat² etiam, ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senātūs inclīnāret ad pācem cum Pyrrhō foedusque faciendum, nōn dubitāvit³ dīcere illa, quae versibus persecūtus est Ennius:

Quō vōbīs mentēs, rēctae quae stāre solēbant Antehāc, dēmentīs 4 sēsē flexēre viāi 7

cēteraque gravissimē; nōtum enim vōbīs carmen est;

et tamen ipsīus Appī exstat ōrātiō. Atque haec ille
ēgit septimō decimō annō post alterum cōnsulātum,
cum inter duōs cōnsulātūs annī decem interfuissent,
cēnsorque ante superiōrem cōnsulātum fuisset; ex
quō intellegitur Pyrrhī bellō grandem sānē fuisse; et
tamen sīc ā patribus accēpimus. 17. Nihil igitur
adferunt quī in rē gerendā versārī senectūtem ne-

¹ cum defendebant, A. & G. 325, a; G. & L. 580; H. 521, II. 1.

² accedebat, A. & G. 332, 2; G. & L. 553, 4.

³ dubitavit, A. & G. 332, g, n. 2; G. & L. 423, 2, n. 2; H. 505, 4.

⁴ mentes dementis, A. & G. 386; G. & L. 694; H. 637, XI. 5.
5 viai: Form, A. & G. 36, α; G. & L. 29; H. 49, 2. Construction, either, A. & G. 216, α, 4; G. & L. 372, 3, 3; H. 397, 4; or, A. & G. 243, Rem.; H. 410, V. 4.

gant, similēsque sunt ut sī quī gubernātōrem in nāvigando nihil agere dīcant, cum aliī mālos scandant, aliī per foros cursent, aliī sentīnam exhauriant, ille autem clāvum tenēns quiētus sedeat in puppī, non faciat ea quae iuvenes. At vero multo maiora 5 et meliora facit. Non vīribus aut vēlocitāte aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non 2 orbārī, sed etiam augērī senectūs solet. 18. Nisi forte ego vobīs, quī et mīles et tribūnus et lēgātus 10 et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum. cēssāre nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At senātuī, quae sint gerenda, praescrībō et quō modō; Karthāginī male iam diū cōgitantī³ bellum multō ante dēnūntiō; dē quā verērī nōn ante dēsinam quam 15 illam excīsam esse cōgnōverō. 19. Quam palmam utinam dī immortālēs, Scīpiō, tibi reservent, ut avī reliquiās perseguāre! cūius ā morte tertius hīc et trīcēsimus annus est, sed memoriam illīus virī omnēs excipient annī consequentes. Anno ante mē 20 cēnsōrem mortuus est, novem annīs post meum cōnsulātum, cum consul iterum mē consule creatus esset. Num igitur, sī ad centēsimum annum vīxisset, senectūtis eum suae paenitēret? Nec enim excursione nec saltū nec ēminus hastīs aut comminus gladiīs 25

¹ scandant, A. & G. 313, d; G. & L. 587; H. 515, III.

² non modo non, G. & L. 482, 5.

³ cogitanti, A. & G. 290, a; G. & L. 668, 230; H. 549, 4, 467, III.

ūterētur, sed cōnsiliō, ratiōne, sententiā; quae nisi essent in senibus, nōn summum cōnsilium māiōrēs nostrī appellāssent senātum. 20. Apud Lacedaemoniōs quidem eī, quī amplissimum magistrātum 5 gerunt, ut sunt, sīc etiam nōminantur senēs. Quod sī legere aut audīre volētis¹ externa, māximās rēs pūblicās ab adulēscentibus labefactātās, ā senibus sustentātās et restitūtās reperiētis.

Cedo,² quī vestram rem pūblicam tantam āmīsistis tam cito?

10 Sīc enim percontantur in Naevī poētae Lūdō. Respondentur et alia et hōc in prīmīs:

Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

CHAPTER VII.

And if it is objected that 'old men's memory fails and thus unfits them for such duties,' I answer that old men remember what they care to remember. I can point to a long list of poets and philosophers who continued at their several occupations to extreme old age; and, apart from such eminent men, to many humble farmers and laborers who in their way do the same.

21. At memoria minuitur. Crēdō, nisi eam exerceās, aut etiam sī sīs nātūrā tardior. Themistoclēs

¹ voletis, A. & G. 278, b; G. & L. 242, Rem. 1; H. 470, 2.

² Cedo, G. & L. 175, 6.

³ exerceas, A. & G. 309, α; G. & L. 595, Rem. 3, 596, 1; H. 508, 5, 2)

omnium cīvium percēperat nōmina; num igitur cēnsētis eum, cum aetāte processisset, qui Aristīdes esset.² Lysimachum salūtāre solitum? Equidem non modo eos novī, quī sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod āiunt, ne 5 memoriam perdam; hīs enim ipsīs legendīs in memoriam redeō mortuōrum. Nec vērō guemguam senem audīvī oblītum, quō locō thēsaurum obruisset: omnia, quae cūrant, meminērunt; vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant. 22. Quid 10 iūris consultī, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophī senēs, quam multa meminērunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat³ studium et industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vītā etiam prīvātā et quiētā. Sophoclēs ad 15 summam senectūtem tragoediās fēcit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur. ā fīliīs in iūdicium vocātus est, ut, quem ad modum nostrō mōre male rem gerentibus patribus 4 bonīs 5 interdīcī solet, sīc illum quasi dēsipientem ā rē 20 familiārī removērent iūdicēs. Tum senex dīcitur eam fābulam, quam in manibus habēbat et proximē scrīpserat, Oedipum Colonēum, recitāsse iūdicibus

 ¹ processisset, A. & G. 336 B, a, n. 2; G. & L. 650; H. 524.
 2 esset, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 629 and 663; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1).

³ permaneat, A. & G. 266, d; G. & L. 573; H. 513, I.

⁴ patribus, A. & G. 230; G. & L. 346, Rem. 1, 208, 2; H. 384, 5.

⁵ bonis, A. & G. 225, 3, d, n. 1; G. & L. 390, 2, n. 3.

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quaesīsseque, num illud carmen dēsipientis vidērētur. Quō recitātō sententiīs iūdicum est līberātus. 23. Num igitur hunc, num Homērum, Hēsiodum, Simonidem, Stēsichorum, num, quos ante dīxī, 5 Īsocratēn, Gorgiān, num philosophōrum prīncipēs, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratēn, num posteā Zēnōnem, Cleanthem, aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stōicum, coēgit in suīs studiīs obmūtēscere senec-10 tūs? An in omnibus studiōrum agitātiō vītae aequālis fuit? 24. Age, ut ista dīvīna studia omittāmus, possum nomināre ex agro Sabīno rūsticos Romānos, vīcīnos et familiāres meos, quibus absentibus numquam ferē ūlla in agrō māiōra opera 15 fīunt, non serendīs, non percipiendīs, non condendīs 4 frūctibus. Quamquam in aliīs minus hōc mīrum est; nēmō enim est tam senex quī sē annum nōn putet posse vīvere: sed īdem in eīs ēlabōrant quae sciunt nihil ad sē omnīno pertinēre.

Serit arborēs, quae alterī saeclō prōsint,⁵

ut ait Statius noster in Synephēbīs. 25. Nec vērō dubitat agricola, quamvīs sit senex, quaerentī, cuī

¹ omittamus, A. & G. 317, c; G. & L. 545, 3, Rem. 3; H. 499,

² possum, A. & G. 311, c; G. & L. 254; H. 476, 4.

⁸ ulla, A. & G. 202, c; G. & L. 107, 3, n. 2; H. 317, 1, 457.

⁴ percipiendis, A. & G. 253; G. & L. 397; H. 424. ⁵ prosint, A. & G. 317; G. & L. 630; H. 497, 1.

5

serat respondēre: 'Dīs immortālibus, quī mē nōn accipere modo haec ā māiōribus voluērunt, sed etiam posterīs-prōdere.'

CHAPTER VIII.

If, further, it is said 'old men see much sorrow,' I reply, 'and much pleasure too'; if it is said 'he becomes a burden to others,' I reply, 'Young men on the contrary love and court old ones, if the latter are as active as is in their power and are open to new impressions.'

Et melius Caecilius de sene alterī saeclo prospiciente quam illud¹ īdem:

Edepol,² senectūs, sī nīl quicquam aliud vitī Adportēs tēcum, cum advenīs, ūnum id sat est, Quod ³ diū vīvendō multa, quae nōn volt, videt.

Et multa fortāsse, quae volt; atque in ea, quae nōn volt, saepe etiam adulēscentia incurrit. Illud vērō 10 īdem Caecilius vitiōsius:

Tum equidem in senectā hōc dēputō miserrimum, Sentīre eā aetāte eumpse⁴ esse odiōsum alterī.

26. Iūcundum potius quam odiōsum. Ut enim adulēscentibus bonā indole praeditīs sapientēs senēs 15 dēlectantur, leviorque fit senectūs eōrum quī ā iuven-

¹ illud, A. & G. 102, b; G. & L. 307, 4; H. 450, 3.

² Edepol, A. & G. 365; G. & L. 762; H. 622.

³ Quod, A. & G. 347, c; G. & L. 723; H. 608, III. n. 2.

⁴ eumpse, A. & G. p. 67; G. & L. 103, n. 1; H. 186, V. footnote 5.

tūte coluntur et dīliguntur, sīc adulēscentēs senum praeceptīs¹ gaudent, quibus ad virtūtum studia dūcuntur; nec minus intellegō mē vōbīs quam mihi vos esse² iūcundos. Sed vidētis, ut senectūs non 5 modo languida atque iners non sit, vērum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scīlicet quāle cūiusque studium in superiore vītā fuit. Quid quī etiam addīscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem³ vidēmus, quī sē cotīdiē 10 aliquid addīscentem dīcit senem fierī, et ego fēcī quī litterās Graecās senex didicī; quās quidem sīc avidē arripuī quasi 4 diūturnam sitim explēre cupiēns, 4 ut ea ipsa mihi nōta essent quibus mē nunc exemplīs ūtī vidētis. Quod cum fēcisse Socratem in fidibus 15 audīrem, vellem 5 equidem etiam illud (dīscēbant enim fidibus antīguī), sed in litterīs certē ēlaborāvī.

¹ praeceptis, A. & G. 254, b, 1; H. 425, II. 1, 1.

esse, A. & G. 336, c, n. 2; G. & L. 644, 3, b; H. 524, 1, 2).
 gloriantem, A. & G. 292, e; G. & L. 536, 527, 5, n. 1; H.

⁸ gloriantem, A. & G. 292, e; G. & L. 536, 527, 5, n. 1; H 535, I. 4.

⁴ quasi . . . cupiens, G. & L. 602, n. 3.

 $^{^5}$ vellem, A. & G. 311, a and b; G. & L. 257, n. 2; H. 485, 486, I. n. 2.

CHAPTER IX.

II. Age weakens our bodies.

Well, if age takes away our strength, it takes away also our wish for it. An old man no more desires the strength of youth, than a young man that of a bull or elephant. If he has not the strength required for public speaking, quiet discourse is becoming and effective. It is the vices of youth, not old age, that weaken the body. Witness Metellus.

27. Nē nunc quidem vīrēs dēsīderō adulēscentis (is enim erat locus alter de vitis senectūtis), non plūs quam adulēscēns taurī aut elephantī dēsīderābam. Quod est, eō decet ūtī et, quicquid agās, agere prō vīribus. Quae enim vōx potest esse contemptior 5 quam Milōnis Crotōniātae? quī, cum iam senex esset āthlētāsque sē exercentēs in curriculo vidēret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur inlacrimansque dīxisse: 'At hī quidem mortuī iam sunt.' Non vēro tam istī quam tū ipse, nūgātor; neque enim 10 ex tē umquam es nobilitātus, sed ex lateribus et lacertīs tuīs. Nihil Sex. Aelius tāle, nihil multīs annīs ante Ti. Coruncānius, nihil modo P. Crassus, ā quibus iūra cīvibus praescrībēbantur, quōrum usque ad extrēmum spīritum est provecta prūden- 15 tia. 28. Ōrātor metuō nē languēscat senectūte; est

¹ agas, A. & G. 309, a; G. & L. 595, Rem. 3; H. 460, 1, n. 2.

enim mūnus ēius non ingenī solum, sed laterum etiam et vīrium. Omnīnō canōrum illud in vōce splendēscit etiam nēsciō quō pactō in senectūte, quod equidem adhūc non āmīsī, et vidētis annos. 5 Sed tamen est decōrus senī sermō quiētus et remissus, facitque per sē ipsa sibi audientiam disertī senis composita et mītis ōrātiō. Quam sī ipse exsequi nequeās, possīs tamen Scīpionī praecipere et Laeliō. Quid enim est iūcundius senectūte 10 stīpātā studiīs iuventūtis? 29. An nē illās quidem vīrēs senectūti relinguēmus, ut adulēscentīs doceat, Instituat, ad omne offici mūnus Instruat? quidem opere quid potest esse praeclārius? vērō et Cn. et P. Scīpiōnēs et avī tuī duo, L. Aemi-15 lius et P. Āfricānus, comitātū nōbilium iuvenum fortūnātī vidēbantur nec ūllī bonārum artium magistrī non beātī putandī, quamvīs consenuerint² vīrēs atque dēfēcerint. Etsī ipsa ista dēfectiō vīrium adulēscentiae vitiīs efficitur saepius quam senectūtis; 20 libīdinōsa enim et intemperāns adulēscentia effētum corpus trādit senectūtī. 30. Cyrus quidem apud³ Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat4 sē umquam sēnsisse senectūtem suam imbēcilliōrem factam, quam

¹ nescio quo pacto, A. & G. 334, e; G. & L. 467, 2, n.; H. 529, 5, 3).

² consenuerint, A. & G. 313, a; G. & L. 606; H. 515, III. n. 3.

³ apud, A. & G. 258, c, 2, n. 2; G. & L. 416, 4.

⁴ negat: for the present tense, see A. & G. 276, f; H. 467, 3.

adulēscentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum meminī ¹ puer,² quī cum quadrienniō post alterum cōnsulātum pontifex māximus factus esset vīgintī et duōs annōs eī sacerdōtiō praefuit, ita bonīs esse vīribus extrēmō tempore aetātis, ut adulēscentiam nōn requīreret. 5 Nihil necesse est mihi ³ dē mē ipsō dīcere, quamquam est id quidem senīle aetātīque nostrae concēditur.

CHAPTER X.

Witness Nestor, and myself. At 84 I can still perform my duties as a senator, public speaker, citizen, patron; nor have I ever denied myself to a caller. But, after all, bodily vigor is not so valuable as mental keenness; and we must be content with the amount of strength appropriate to our time of life, and not attempt anything beyond it. Yet Masinissa is an example of what is possible in preserving extraordinary strength up to 90.

31. Vidētisņe, tut apud Homērum saepissimē Nestor dē virtūtibus suīs praedicet? Tertiam iam enim aetātem hominum vidēbat, nec erat eī verendum nē vēra praedicāns dē sē nimis vidērētur aut īnsolēns aut loquāx. Etenim, ut ait Homērus, 'ex ēius linguā melle dulcior fluēbat ōrātiō,' quam ad

¹ memini . . . esse, A. & G. 336, a, n. I. G. & L. 281, 2, n.; H. 537, 1.

² puer, G. & L. 325; H. 363, 3, 2).

 $^{^3}$ necesse mihi, A. & G. 272, a, I. 1; G. & L. 535, Rem's. 2 and 3.

⁴ videtisne, A. & G. 210; G. & L. 454, n. 5.

suāvitātem nūllīs egēbat corporis vīribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Āiācis i similīs habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod sī sibi acciderit. non dubitat,² quin brevi sit Troia peritura. 32. Sed 5 redeō ad mē. Quārtum agō annum et octōgēsimum; vellem ³ equidem idem ⁴ possem gloriarī quod Cyrus, sed tamen hōc queō dīcere, nōn mē quidem eīs esse vīribus, quibus aut mīles bellō Pūnicō aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut 10 quadrienniō post, cum tribūnus mīlitāris dēpūgnāvī⁵ apud Thermopylās M'. Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos vidētis, non plānē mē ēnervāvit, non adflīxit senectūs, non cūria vīrēs meās dēsīderat, non rostra, non amīcī, non clientēs, non hospitēs. 15 Nec enim umquam sum adsēnsus veterī illī laudātoque proverbio, quod monet 'mature fieri senem, sī diū velīs senex esse.' Ego vērō mē minus diū senem esse māllem quam esse senem, ante quam essem. Itaque nēmō adhūc convenīre mē voluit, 20 cuī fuerim occupātus. 33. At minus habeō vīrium quam vestrūm utervīs. Nē vos quidem T. Pontī

 $^{^{1}}$ Aiacis, A. & G. 234, d, 2 ; G. & L. 359, Rem. 1 ; H. 391, II., 4 (2).

² dubitat quin, A. & G. 332, g, Rem.; G. & L. 555, 2, Rem. 1; H. 505, I. 1.

³ vellem, A. & G. 267, c; G. & L. 258, n. 1.

⁴ idem, A. & G. 238; G. & L. 333, 1; H. 371, 2.

⁵ depugnavi, A. & G. 336, b; G. & L. 628, Rem.; H. 524, 2, 2).

⁶ fieri, A. & G. 330, 2; G. & L. 546, 2, Rem. 1; H. 498, I. n.

⁷ mallem, A. & G. 267, c; G. & L. 258, n. 1.

centurionis vīrēs habētis; num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderātiō modo vīrium adsit,1 et tantum quantum potest quisque nītātur, nē ille non māgnō dēsīderiō tenēbitur vīrium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milō dīcitur, cum umerīs 5 sustinēret bovem. Utrum igitur hās corporis an Pythagorae tibi mālīs² vīrēs ingenī darī? Dēnique istō bonō ūtāre,3 dum adsit,4 cum absit,4 nē requīrās, nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus 10 est certus aetātis et ūna via nātūrae, eaque simplex, suaque cuīque partī aetātis tempestīvitās est data, ut et înfîrmitās puerōrum, et ferōcitās iuvenum et gravitās iam constantis aetātis et senectūtis mātūritās nātūrāle guiddam habeat, guod suō tempore 15 percipī dēbeat. 34. Audīre tē arbitror, Scīpiō, hospes tuus avītus Masinissa quae faciat hodiē nonāgintā nātus annōs; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit,6 in equum omnīno non ascendere; cum autem equo, ex equō nōn dēscendere; nūllō imbrī, nūllō frīgore 20 addūcī ut capite opertō sit, summam esse in eō sicci-

¹ adsit, A. & G. 266; G. & L. 263, 3; H. 483.

² malis, A. & G. 311, a; G. & L. 257, 2, n. 2; H. 485.

 $^{^3}$ utare, A. & G. 266, a, 269, b ; G. & L. 263, 2, (a) ; H. 484, 4, n. 2, 489, 3.

⁴ adsit, absit, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 663, 1; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1.

⁵ suo, G. & L. 309, 2; H. 449, 2.

⁶ sit, A. & G. 336, 2; G. & L. 650; H. 524.

tātem corporis, itaque omnia exsequī rēgis officia et mūnera. Potest igitur exercitātiō et temperantia etiam in senectūte cōnservāre aliquid prīstinī rōboris.

CHAPTER XI.

Duties depending on bodily strength are not demanded from old men; but it is not old age alone that is unfit for such duties. Ill health is often responsible for such unfitness, to which youth is subject as well as age, witness the son of Africanus. We should take precautions for the preservation of health, and for intellectual cultivation. All youths are not profligates nor all old men dotards. Youth should partake of the gravity of age, age of the fire of youth. I still perform all kinds of active civil duties; and in case I should be unable to do so, I have still in reserve the pleasures of study and contemplation.

Non sunt in senectūte vīrēs. Ne postulantur quidem vīrēs ā senectūte. Ergō et lēgibus et īnstitūtīs vacat aetās nostra mūneribus eīs, quae non possunt sine vīribus sustinērī. Itaque non modo,¹ quod² non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. 35. At multī ita sunt imbēcillī senes, ut nūllum officī aut omnīno vītae mūnus exsequī possint. At id quidem non proprium senectūtis vitium est, sed commūne valētūdinis.

 $^{^1}$ non modo, A. & G. 149, e ; G. & L. 482, 5, Rem. 1; H. 552, 2. 2 quod, A. & G. 240, a ; G. & L. 334 ; H. 378, 2.

Quam fuit imbēcillus P. Āfricānī fīlius, is quī tē adoptāvit, quam tenuī aut nūllā potius valētūdine! Quod nī ita fuisset, alterum illud¹ exstitisset lūmen cīvitātis; ad paternam enim māgnitūdinem animī doctrīna ūberior accēsserat. Quid mīrum igitur in 5 senibus sī īnfīrmī sint aliquando, cum id nē adulēscentēs quidem effugere possint? Resistendum,2 Laelī et Scīpiō, senectūtī est, ēiusque vitia dīligentiā compēnsanda sunt, pūgnandum tamquam contrā morbum sīc contrā senectūtem; 36. habenda 10 ratio valetūdinis, ūtendum 2 exercitātionibus modicīs, tantum cibī et pōtiōnis adhibendum ut reficiantur vīrēs, non opprimantur. Nec vēro corporī solum subveniendum est, sed mentī atque animō multō magis; nam haec³ quoque, nisi tamquam lūminī 15 oleum īnstīllēs,4 exstinguuntur senectūte. Et corpora quidem exercitātionum defatīgātione ingravēscunt, animī autem exercendō levantur. Nam quōs ait Caecīlius 20

- comicos stultos senes.

hōs 5 sīgnificat crēdulos, oblīviosos, dissolūtos, quae vitia sunt non senectūtis, sed inertis, īgnāvae, som-

¹ illud, A. & G. 195, d; G. & L. 211, Rem. 5; H. 445, 4.

² resistendum and utendum, A. & G. 230, 294, c; G. & L. 346, Rem. 1, 427, 4; H. 384, II. 5, 544, 2, n. 5.

³ haec, A. & G. 198, a; H. 445, 3, n. 1.

⁴ instilles, A. & G. 309, a; G. & L. 595, Rem. 3, 496, 1; H. 508, 5, 2).

⁵ hos, A. & G. 239, 1, a; G. & L. 340, b.

niculosae senectūtis. Ut petulantia, ut libīdo magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulēscentium, sed non proborum, sīc ista¹ senīlis stultitia, quae delīrātio appellārī solet, senum levium 5 est, non omnium. 37. Quattuor robustos fīlios, quīnque fīliās, tantam domum, tantās clientēlās Appius regēbat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habēbat nec languēscēns succumbēbat senectūtī. Tenēbat non modo auctoritātem, 10 sed etiam imperium in suōs: metuēbant servī, verēbantur līberī, cārum omnēs habēbant; vigēbat in illā domō mōs patrius et dīsciplīna. 38. Ita² enim senectūs honesta est, sī sē ipsa dēfendit, sī iūs suum retinet, sī nēminī ēmancipāta est, sī usque ad ūlti-15 mum spīritum dominātur in suōs. Ut enim adulēscentem in quō est senīle aliquid, sīc senem in quō est aliquid adulēscentis probo; quod quī sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animō numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Orīginum est in manibus; om-20 nia antīquitātis monumenta colligō; causārum inlūstrium quāscumque dēfendī nunc cum māximē conficio orationes; ius augurium, pontificium civile trāctō; multum etiam Graecīs litterīs ūtor, Pythagorēōrumque mōre exercendae memoriae grātiā, quid 25 quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro

 $^{^{1}}$ ista, A. & G. 102, $c\,;$ G. & L. 306; H. 450, I. n. and footnote 4.

² Ita, A. & G. 304, b; G. & L. 590, n. 1; H. 507, 3, n. 2.

vesperī. Hae¹ sunt exercitātiōnēs ingenī, haec curricula mentis, in hīs dēsūdāns atque ēlabōrāns corporis vīrēs nōn māgnō opere dēsīderō. Adsum amīcīs, veniō in senātum frequēns² ūltrōque adferō rēs multum et diū cōgitātās, eāsque tueor animī, nōn 5 corporis vīribus. Quās sī exsequī nequīrem, tamen mē lectulus meus oblectāret ea ipsa cōgitantem, quae iam agere nōn possem; sed ut possim, facit ācta vīta. Semper enim in hīs studiīs labōribusque vīventī³ nōn intellegitur quandō obrēpat senectūs. Ita sēnsim sine sēnsū aetās senēscit nec subitō frangitur, sed diūturnitāte exstinguitur.

CHAPTER XII.

III. Age deprives us of pleasures.

- If by pleasure is meant sensuality, what a boon does old age bestow! All evils private and public flow from this. It impedes the intellect; blinds the mental vision; is alien from all true excellence.
- 39. Sequitur tertia vituperātiō senectūtis, quod eam carēre dīcunt voluptātibus. \overline{O} praeclārum mūnus aetātis, siquidem id aufert ā nōbīs, quod 15 est in adulēscentiā vitiōsissimum! Accipite enim, optimī adulēscentēs, veterem ōrātiōnem Archytae

¹ Hae, A. & G. 199; G. & L. 211. Rem. 5.

frequens, A. & G. 191; G. & L. 325, Rem. 6; H. 443.
 viventi, A. & G. 235; G. & L. 352; H. 384, 4, n. 3.

Tarentīnī, māgnī in prīmīs et praeclārī virī, quae mihi trādita est cum essem adulēscēns Tarentī cum Q. Māximō. Nūllam capitāliōrem pestem quam voluptātem corporis hominibus dīcēbat ā nātūrā 5 datam, cūius voluptātis avidae libīdinēs temerē et ecfrēnātē ad potiendum incitārentur. 40. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestīna colloquia nāscī; nūllum dēnique scelus, nūllum malum facinus 10 esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libīdo voluptātis impelleret; stupra vērō et adulteria et omne tāle flāgitium nūllīs excitārī aliīs inlecebrīs nisi voluptātis; cumque hominī sīve 1 nātūra sīve 1 quis deus nihil mente praestābilius dedisset, huīc dīvīnō mūnerī 15 āc dōnō nihil tam esse inimīcum quam voluptātem; 41. nec enim libīdine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnīnō in voluptātis rēgnō virtūtem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animō iubēbat tantā incitātum aliquem 20 voluptāte corporis, quanta percipī posset māxima; nēminī cēnsēbat fore dubium, quīn tam diū, dum ita gaudēret, nihil agitāre mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam dētestābile tamque pestiferum quam voluptā-25 tem, siquidem ea, cum māior esset atque longīnquior, omne animī lūmen exstingueret. Haec cum C.

¹ sive...sive, A. & G. 156, c; G. & L. 492-497; H. 554, II. 2, 3.

Pontiō Samnīte, patre ēius, ā quō Caudīnō proeliō Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius consules superatī sunt, locūtum Archytam Nearchus Tarentīnus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, sē ā māioribus nātū accēpisse dīcēbat, cum quidem 5 eī sermonī interfuisset¹ Plato Athēniensis, quem Tarentum vēnisse L. Camillō Ap. Claudiō cōnsulibus reperio. 42. Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, sī voluptātem āspernārī ratione et sapientiā non possēmus, māgnam habendam esse senectūtī grātiam, 10 quae efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dīcam, praestringit oculōs, nec habet ūllum cum virtūte commercium. Invītus² fēcī, ut³ fortissimī virī T. Flāminīnī frātrem L. Flāminīnum 15 ē senātū ēicerem 4 septem annīs post quam consul fuisset, 5 sed notandam putāvī libīdinem. Ille enim, cum esset 6 consul in Gallia, exoratus in convīvio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculīs essent,7 damnātī reī capitālis. Hīc Titō 20

¹ interfuisset, A. & G. 336, 2; G. & L. 650; H. 524.

² invitus, A. & G. 191; G. & L. 325, Rem. 6; H. 443.

³ feci ut, A. & G. 332, e; G. & L. 553, I.; H. 498, II. n. 2. ⁴ eicerem, A. & G. 347, 5 d, n. 2; G. & L. 703, II. n.; H. 36, 4,

⁴ eicerem, A. & G. 347, 5 d, n. 2; G. & L. 703, II. n.; H. 36, 4, and footnote 1.

⁵ fuisset, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 663, I.; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1); A. & G. 324, a; G. & L. 241, 2; H. 471, 4.

⁶ esset, A. & G. 323, 325; G. & L. 585, and Rem.; H. 521, II. 2, and footnote 1.

⁷ essent, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 1 and 2; H. 503, 1.

frātre suō cēnsōre, quī proximus ante mē fuerat, ēlāpsus est; mihi vērō et Flaccō neutiquam probārī potuit tam flāgitiōsa et tam perdita libīdō, quae cum probrō prīvātō coniungeret imperī dēdecus.

CHAPTER XIII.

Nothing worse could we wish our enemies than that they should devote themselves to such pleasures; and if by pleasures are meant the pleasures of the table, we might answer that in losing them old age loses all the ills that accompany them, broken sleep, indigestion, etc. But in point of fact old age can enjoy the best part of such festivities, social intercourse and conversation, and even some little parade and indulgence in taste.

5 43. Saepe audīvī ex māiōribus nātū, quī sē porrō puerōs ā senibus audīsse dīcēbant, mīrārī solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud rēgem Pyrrhum lēgātus esset, audīsset ā Thessalō Cīneā esse quendam Athēnīs, quī sē sapientem profitērētur, eumque dīcere omnia, quae facerēmus, ad voluptātem esse referenda. Quod ex eō audientīs M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncānium optāre solitōs, ut id Samnītibus ipsīque Pyrrhō persuādērētur,¹ quō² facilius vincī possent, cum sē voluptātibus dedissent. Vīxerat M'. Curius tum P. Deciō, quī quīnquenniō ante eum cōnsulem

¹ *id*...*persuaderetur*, { A. & G. 230; G. & L. 208, 2; H. 301, 1. A. & G. 240, a; G. & L. 333, 1; H. 378, 2. ² *quo*, A. & G. 317, b; G. & L. 545, 2; H. 497, II. 2.

sē pro rē publicā quārto consulātu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui cum ex suā vītā, tum ex ēius, quem dīcō, Decī, factō iūdicābant esse profecto aliquid nātūrā pulchrum atque praeclārum, quod suā sponte peterētur, quodque 5 sprētā et contemptā voluptāte optimus quisque1 sequerētur. 44. Quōrsus igitur tam multa dē voluptāte? Quia non modo vituperātio nūlla, sed etiam summa laus senectūtis est, quod ea voluptātēs nūllās māgnō opere dēsīderat. Caret epulīs extrūctīsque 10 mēnsīs et frequentibus pōculīs; caret ergō etiam vīnulentiā et crūditāte et īnsomniīs. Sed sī aliquid dandum est voluptātī, quoniam ēius blanditiīs non facile obsistimus, - dīvīnē enim Plato 'ēscam malorum, appellat voluptātam, quod eā vidēlicet hom- 15 inēs capiantur² ut piscēs,—quamquam immoderātīs epulīs caret senectūs, modicīs tamen convīviīs dēlectārī potest. C. Duellium M. f., quī Poenos classe prīmus dēvīcerat, redeuntem ā cēnā senem saepe vidēbam puer; dēlectābātur cēreō fūnālī et tībīcine, 20 quae sibi nūllo exemplo prīvātus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria. 45. Sed quid ego alios? Ad mē ipsum iam revertar. Prīmum habuī semper sodālīs. Sodālitātēs autem mē quaestore constitūtae sunt sacrīs Īdaeīs Māgnae Mātris acceptīs. Epulābar 25

¹ optimus quisque, A. & G. 93, c; G. & L. 318, 2; H. 458, I.

capiantur, A. & G. 321; G. & L. 541; H. 516, II.
 primus, A. & G. 191; G. & L. 325, 7; H. 442.

igitur cum sodālibus omnīnō modicē, sed erat quīdam fervor aetātis; quā prōgrediente omnia fīunt in diēs mītiōra. Neque enim ipsōrum convīviōrum dēlectātiōnem voluptātibus corporis magis quam coetū amīcōrum et sermōnibus mētiēbar. Bene enim māiōrēs accubitiōnem epulārem amīcōrum, quia vītae coniūnctiōnem habēret,¹ convīvium nōmināvērunt, melius quam Graecī, quī hōc idem tum compōtātiōnem, tum concēnātiōnem vocant, ut, quod in eō genere minimum est, id māximē probāre videantur.

CHAPTER XIV.

I myself always enjoyed and still enjoy this social aspect of banquets, the conversation of my contemporaries or juniors, the old-fashioned ceremonies at the wine. I keep them up at my country house, often to a late hour of the night. In fact though old age loses some zest for pleasures, it is on the other hand free from their tyranny, and yet can enjoy them, though in a less degree.

The pleasures of Old Age:

- (a) Intellectual pursuits which it can follow the better for being free from the tyranny of the passions. Examples: Galus, Naevius, Plautus, Livius, Crassus, Metellus.
- 46. Ego vērō propter sermōnis dēlectātionem tempestīvīs quoque convīviīs dēlector, nec cum

¹ haberet, A. & G. 321; G. & L. 541; H. 516, II.

aequālibus solum, quī paucī¹ admodum² restant, sed cum vestrā etiam aetāte atque vobīscum, habeoque senectūtī māgnam grātiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditātem auxit, pōtiōnis et cibī sustulit.3 Quod sī quem etiam ista dēlectant, (nē omnīnō bellum 5 indīxisse videar 4 voluptātī, cūius est fortāsse quīdam nātūrālis modus), non intellego ne in istīs guidem 5 ipsīs voluptātibus carēre sēnsū senectūtem. Mē vēro et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermō, quī mōre māiōrum ā summō adhibētur in 10 pōculō, et pōcula, sīcut in Symposiō Xenophōntis est, minūta atque rōrantia, et refrīgerātiō aestāte et vicissim aut sol aut īgnis hībernus; quae 6 quidem etiam in Sabīnīs perseguī soleō, convīviumque vīcīnorum 7 cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem 15 quam māximē possumus vario sermone producimus. 47. At non est voluptātum tanta guasi tītillātio in senibus. Crēdō, sed nē dēsīderātiō quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres.8 Bene Sophocles, cum ex eō guidam iam adfecto aetate 20

¹ qui pauci, A. & G. 216, e; G. & L. 370, 2; H. 397, 2, n.

² admodum, G. & L. 440, Rem.

³ sustulit, G. & L. 626; H. 517, 2.

⁴ ne... videar, A. & G. 317, 3, c; G. & L. 545, 3, Rem. 3; H. 499, 2, n.

⁵ non...ne...quidem, A. & G. 209, α, 1; G. & L. 445; H. 553, 2.

⁶ quae, A. & G. 180, f; G. & L. 610; H. 453.

⁷ vicinorum, A. & G. 248, c, 2, Rem.; G. & L. 383, 1; H. 410, V. 1.

⁸ desideres, A. & G. 316; G. & L. 593; H. 307.

quaereret, ūterēturne rēbus veneriīs, 'Dī meliōra!' inquit; 'libenter vērō istinc sīcut ab dominō agrestī āc furioso profūgī.' Cupidīs enim rērum tālium odiosum fortāsse et molestum est carēre, satiātīs vērō et 5 explētīs iūcundius est carēre quam fruī. Quamquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderāre¹ dīcō esse iūcundius. 48. Quod sī istīs ipsīs voluptātibus bona aetās fruitur libentius, prīmum parvulīs fruitur rēbus, ut dīximus, deinde eīs, quibus 10 senectūs, etiamsī non abundē potītur, non omnīno caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prīmā caveā spectat, dēlectātur tamen etiam, quī in ūltimā, sīc adulēscentia voluptātēs propter intuēns magis fortāsse laetātur, sed dēlectātur etiam senec-15 tūs procul eās spectāns tantum quantum sat est. 49. At illa quantī² sunt, animum, tamquam ēmeritīs stīpendiīs libīdinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimīcitiārum cupiditātum omnium, sēcum esse sēcumque, ut dīcitur, vīvere! Sī vērō habet aliquod tamquam 20 pābulum studī atque doctrīnae, nihil est ōtiōsā senectūte iūcundius. Vidēbāmus in studio dīmētiendī paene caelī atque terrae C. Galum, familiārem patris tuī, Scīpiō. Quotiēns illum lūx noctū aliquid dēscrībere ingressum, quotiēns nox oppressit, cum 25 māne coepisset! Quam dēlectābat eum dēfectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! 50. Quid

¹ desiderare, G. & L. 421, n. 2.

² quanti, A. & G. 252, a; G. & L. 380; H. 405.

in levioribus studiīs, sed tamen acūtīs? Quam gaudēbat bello suo Pūnico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolō! Vīdī etiam senem Līvium; quī, cum sex annīs ante quam ego nātus sum fābulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad 5 adulēscentiam meam processit aetāte. Quid de P. Licinī Crassī et pontificī et cīvīlis iūris studiō loguar aut de hūius P. Scīpionis quī hīs paucīs diebus pontifex māximus factus est? Atque eos omnīs, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantis senes 10 vīdimus. M. vērō Cethēgum, quem rēctē 'Suādae medullam' dīxit Ennius, quantō studiō exercērī1 in dīcendō vidēbāmus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epulārum aut lūdōrum aut scortōrum voluptātēs cum hīs voluptātibus comparandae? Atque haec 15 quidem studia doctrīnae, quae quidem prūdentibus et bene înstitūtīs pariter cum aetāte crēscunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dīxī, senēscere sē multa in diēs addīscentem, quā voluptāte animī nūlla certe potest 20 esse mājor.

¹ exerceri, A. & G. 111, α; G. & L. 218; H. 465.

CHAPTER XV.

The Pleasures of Old Age (continued).

- (b) Agriculture. The pleasures connected with this are perennial. Earth is bounteous, and never fails to make a return for labor. Its natural powers are delightful to watch as it vitalizes seeds and produces fruit. Then there is the artificial culture of the vine; the mystery of seminal growth; the development of bud and blossom; the contrivances for irrigation, trenching and renewing the soil; orchard, gardens, stock breeding, bee keeping—all are delightful.
- 51. Veniō nunc ad voluptātēs agricolārum, quibus ego incrēdibiliter dēlector; quae nec ūllā impediuntur senectūte et mihi ad sapientis vītam proximē videntur accēdere. Habent enim ratiōnem 5 cum terrā, quae numquam recūsat imperium nec umquam sine ūsūrā reddit, quod accēpit, sed aliās minōre, plērumque māiōre cum faenore. Quamquam mē quidem nōn frūctus modo, sed etiam ipsīus terrae vīs āc nātūra dēlectat. Quae cum gremiō mollītō āc subāctō sparsum sēmen excēpit, prīmum id occaecātum cohibet, ex quō occātiō, quae hōc efficit, nōmināta est, deinde tepefactum vapōre et compressū suō diffundit et ēlicit herbēscentem ex eō viriditātem, quae nīxa fibrīs¹ stirpium sēnsim

 $^{^{1}\} fibris,$ A. & G. 254, $b\,;$ G. & L. 401, Rem. 2, n. 6; H. 425, 1, 1), n.

adulēscit culmoque ērēcta geniculāto vāgīnīs iam quasi pūbēscēns inclūditur; ex quibus cum ēmersit, fundit frügem spīcī ordine strüctam et contrā avium minorum morsūs mūnītur vāllo aristārum. 52. Quid ego vītium ortūs, satūs, incrēmenta com- 5 memorem? Satiārī dēlectātione non possum, ut meae senectūtis requiem oblectāmentumque noscātis.1 Omittō enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur ē terrā; quae ex fīcī tantulō grānō aut ex acinī vīnāceō aut ex cēterārum frūgum aut stirpium 10 minūtissimīs sēminibus tantōs truncōs rāmōsque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, vivirādicēs, propagines, nonne efficient, ut quemvis cum admirātione delectent? Vītis quidem, quae nātūrā cadūca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, 15 ut sē ērigat clāviculīs suīs quasi manibus quicquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplicī lāpsū et errāticō ferrō amputāns coercet ars agricolārum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundātur. 53. Itaque ineunte vēre in eīs, quae 20 relicta sunt, exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quae gemma dīcitur, ā quā oriēns ūva sē ostendit, quae et sūcō terrae et calore solis augescens prīmō est peracerba gustātū,2 deinde mātūrāta dulcēscit, vestītaque pampinīs nec modicō tepōre 3 caret et 25

¹ noscatis, A. & G. 317, c; G. & L. 545, 3, Rem. 3; H. 499, 2, n.

gustatu, A. & G. 253; G. & L. 397; H. 424.
 tepore, A. & G. 243; G. & L. 405; H. 413.

nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum frūctū¹ laetius, tum aspectū¹ pulchrius? Cūius quidem non ūtilitās mē solum, ut ante dīxī, sed etiam cultūra et nātūra ipsa dēlectat, adminiculōrum 5 ōrdinēs, capitum iugātiō, religātiō et propāgātiō vītium, sarmentōrum ea, quam dīxī aliōrum amputātiō, aliōrum immissiō. Quid ego irrigātiōnēs, quid fossiones agrī repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? 54. Quid de ūtilitate 10 loquar stercorandī? Dīxī in eō librō, quem dē rēbus rūsticīs scrīpsī; dē quā doctus Hēsiodus nē verbum quidem fēcit, cum dē cultūrā agrī scrīberet.2 At Homērus, quī multīs, ut mihi vidētur, ante saeculīs fuit, Lāertēn lēnientem 3 dēsīderium, quod capiēbat 15 ē fīliō, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vērō segetibus solum et prātīs et vīneīs et arbustīs rēs rūsticae laetae sunt, sed hortīs etiam et pomāriīs, tum pecudum pāstū, apium exāminibus, flörum omnium varietāte. Nec consitiones modo 20 dēlectant sed etiam īnsitionēs, quibus nihil invēnit agri cultūra sollertius.

¹ fructu, aspectu, A. & G. 253; G. & L. 397; H. 424.

² scriberet, A. & G. 313, d; G. & L. 587; H. 515, III. ³ lenientem, A. & G. 290, a; G. & L. 665; H. 549, 1.

CHAPTER XVI.

Our ancestors, such as Curius and Cincinnatus, loved this way of life; and not only is it delightful, but it is in the highest degree healthful, profitable, and useful; gratifying to the eye and taste; refreshing to the body; superior to all the gallantries of war and the excitements of sport and play.

55. Possum¹ persequī permulta oblectāmenta rērum rūsticārum, sed haec ipsa, quae dīxī, sentiō fuisse longiora. Ignoscētis autem; nam et studio rūsticārum rērum provectus sum, et senectūs est nātūrā loguācior, nē ab omnibus eam vitiīs videar 5 vindicāre. Ergō in hāc vītā M'. Curius, cum dē Samnītibus, dē Sabīnīs, dē Pyrrhō triumphāsset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetātis. Cuius quidem ego vīllam contemplāns (abest enim non longē ā mē) admīrārī satis non possum vel hominis ipsīus 10 continentiam vel temporum dīsciplīnam. Curiō ad focum sedentī māgnum aurī pondus Samnītēs cum attulissent, repudiātī sunt; non enim aurum habēre praeclārum sibi vidērī dīxit, sed eīs quī habērent aurum imperare. 56. Poteratne tantus animus effi- 15 cere non iūcundam senectūtem? Sed venio ad agricolās, nē ā mē ipsō recēdam. In agrīs erant tum senātōrēs, id est senēs, siguidem arantī L. Quīnctiō

¹ possum, A. & G. 311, c; G. & L. 254, 1, and 597, Rem. 3; H. 476, 4.

Cincinnātō nūntiātum est eum dictātōrem esse factum; cūius dictātōris iūssū magister equitum C. Servīlius Ahāla Sp. Maelium rēgnum adpetentem occupātum interēmit. A vīllā in senātum arcessē-5 bātur et Curius et cēterī senēs, ex quō, quī eōs arcessēbant viātōrēs nōminātī sunt. Num igitur hōrum senectūs miserābilis fuit, quī sē agrī cultione oblectābant? Meā guidem sententiā haud sciō an¹ nūlla beātior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hom-10 inum generī ūniversō cultūra agrōrum est salūtāris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rērum omnium, quae ad vīctum hominum, ad cultum etiam deōrum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quīdam dēsīderant, in grātiam iam cum voluptāte redeāmus. 15 Semper enim bonī assiduīgue dominī referta cella vīnāria, oleāria, etiam penāria est, vīllague tōta locuplēs est, abundat porcō, haedō, āgnō, gallīnā, lacte, cāseō, melle. Iam hortum ipsī agricolae succīdiam alteram appellant. Condītiōra facit haec 20 supervacāneis etiam operis aucupium atque vēnātio. 57. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vīneārum olīvētorumve speciē plūra dīcam? Brevī praecīdam: agrō bene cultō nihil potest esse nec ūsū ūberius nec speciē ornātius; ad quem 25 fruendum² non modo non retardat, vērum etiam

¹ haud scio an, G. & L. 451, 2; H. 529, H. 3, 2), n. 2.
² fruendum, A. & G. 296, Rem.; G. & L. 427, n. 5; H. 544, 2, n. 5.

invītat atque adlectat senectūs. Ubi enim potest illa aetās aut calēscere vel aprīcātiōne melius vel īgnī, aut vicissim umbrīs aquīsve refrīgerārī salūbrius? 58. Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equōs, sibi hastās, sibi clāvam et pilam, sibi natātiōnēs 5 atque cursūs, nōbīs senibus ex lūsiōnibus multīs tālōs relinquant et tesserās, id ipsum¹ ut lubēbit, quoniam sine eīs beāta esse senectūs potest.

CHAPTER XVII.

Xenophon's Oeconomicus. The story of Lysander in the pleasure grounds of Cyrus. The instance of Valerius Corvinus who employed himself in agriculture without losing any of his influence. Speaking of influence, — influence is the chief glory of old age, a truth of which brilliant instances are Crassus, Lepidus, Paulus and Africanus.

59. Multās ad rēs perūtilēs Xenophōntis librī sunt, quōs legite, quaesō, studiōsē, ut facitis. Quam ro cōpiōsē ab eō agrī cultūra laudātur in eō librō, quī est dē tuendā rē familiārī, quī Oeconomicus īnscrībitur! Atque ut intellegātis nihil eī tam rēgāle vidērī quam studium agrī colendī, Sōcratēs in eō librō loquitur cum Critobūlō Cȳrum minōrem, Persārum rēgem, praestantem ingeniō atque imperī glōriā, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtūtis, vēnisset ad eum Sardīs eīque dōna ā sociīs

¹ id ipsum, A. & G. 206, c, 1; G. & L. 209, n. 5; H. 368, 3, n. 1.

adtulisset, et cēterīs in rēbus commūnem ergā Lysandrum atque hūmānum fuisse et eī quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admīrārētur Lysander et procēritātēs 5 arborum et dērēctōs in quīncuncem ōrdinēs et humum subāctam atque pūram et suāvitātem odōrum, quī adflārentur ex flōribus, tum eum dīxisse mīrārī sē non modo dīligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam ēius, ā quō essent illa dīmēnsa 1 atque dīscrīpta; et 10 Cyrum respondisse: 'Atqui' ego ista sum omnia dīmēnsus; meī sunt ordines, mea dīscrīptio, multae etiam istārum arborum meā manū sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram ēius et nitōrem corporis ōrnātumque Persicum multō aurō multīsque 15 gemmīs dīxisse; 'Rēctē vērō tē, Cyre, beātum ferunt, quoniam virtūtī tuae fortūna coniūncta est.' 60. Hāc igitur fortūnā fruī licet senibus, nec aetās impedit, quō minus et cēterārum rērum et in prīmīs agrī colendī studia teneāmus usque ad ūltimum 20 tempus senectūtis. M. quidem Valerium Corvīnum accēpimus ad centēsimum annum perdūxisse, cum esset³ āctā iam aetāte in agrīs eōsque coleret; cūius inter prīmum et sextum consulātum sex et quadrāgintā annī interfuērunt. Ita, quantum spatium 25 aetātis māiorēs ad senectūtis initium esse voluērunt,

¹ dimensa, A. & G. 135, b; G. & L. 167, n. 1.

² atqui, A. & G. 156, b; G. & L. 489.

³ esset, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 629; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1.

tantus illī cursus honorum fuit; atque hūius extrēma aetās hōc beātior quam media, quod auctōritātis habēbat plūs, labōris minus; apex est autem senectūtis auctoritās. 61. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metellō, quanta in A. Atīliō Cālātīnō! in quem 5 illud ēlogium: 'Hunc ūnum plūrimae consentiunt gentēs populī prīmārium fuisse virum.' Nōtum est carmen incīsum in sepulcrō. Iūre igitur gravis, cūius dē laudibus omnium esset fāma consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, 10 quem posteā M. Lepidum eōdem sacerdōtiō praeditum, vīdimus! Quid dē Paulo aut Āfricāno loguar aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententiā solum, sed etiam in nūtū residēbat auctoritās. Habet senectūs, honorāta praesertim, tantam auctō- 15 ritatem, ut ea plūris sit quam omnēs adulēscentiae voluptātēs.

CHAPTER XVIII.

This influence is worth all the pleasures of youth; but it must be acquired by real worth, without which gray hairs are not venerable. But (c) the marks of respect paid to old age may be classed as another of its pleasures. The Spartans are celebrated for their respect to the aged. The Spartans and Athenians contrasted. Respect for age in the College of Augurs.

62. Sed in omnī ōrātiōne mementōte eam mē senectūtem laudāre, quae fundāmentīs adulēscentiae

constituta sit.1 Ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno quondam cum assēnsū omnium dīxī, miseram esse senectūtem quae sē ōrātiōne dēfenderet. Nōn cānī. nec rūgae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt. 5 sed honestē ācta superior aetās frūctūs capit auctōritātis extrēmēs. 63. Haec enim ipsa sunt honērābilia quae videntur levia atque communia, salutārī, adpetī, dēcēdī, adsurgī, dēdūcī, redūcī, consulī; quae et apud nos et in aliīs cīvitātibus, ut quaeque optimē² 10 mõrāta est, ita dīligentissimē observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cūius modo fēcī mentionem, dīcere āiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectūtis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetātī, nusquam est senectūs honorātior. 15 Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludīs guīdam in theātrum grandis nātū vēnisset, māgnō consessu locum nusquam eī datum ā suīs cīvibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legăti cum essent, certō in locō consēderant, consurrēxisse 20 omnēs illī dīcuntur et senem sessum³ recēpisse. 64. Quibus cum ā cūnctō cōnsessū plausus esset multiplex datus, dīxisse ex eīs quendam Athēniēnsīs scire, quae rēcta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostrō collēgiō praeclāra, sed hōc dē quō agimus in 25 prīmīs, quod, ut quisque aetāte antecēdit, ita sen-

¹ constituta sit, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 1; H. 503, 1.

² ut quaeque optime, G. & L. 642, 3, Rem. 2; H. 555, II. 1.

³ sessum, A. & G. 302; G. & L. 435; H. 546.

tentiae prīncipātum tenet, neque solum honore antecēdentibus, sed eīs etiam, quī cum imperiō sunt, māiōrēs nātū augurēs antepōnuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptātēs corporis cum auctōritātis praemiīs comparandae? Quibus quī splendidē ūsī sunt, eī 5 mihi videntur fābulam aetātis perēgisse nec tamquam inexercitātī histriōnēs in extrēmō āctū corruisse.

If it is alleged that old age is morose, peevish and avaricious, I answer that these are faults of individuals, and are not universal characteristics of old age.

65. At sunt mōrōsī et anxiī et īrācundī et difficilēs senēs. Sī quaerimus, etiam avārī; sed haec mōrum 10 vitia sunt, nōn senectūtis. Āc mōrōsitās tamen et ea vitia, quae dīxī, habent aliquid excūsātiōnis nōn illīus¹ quidem iūstae, sed quae probārī posse videātur²; contemnī sē putant, dēspicī, inlūdī; praetereā in fragilī corpore odiōsa omnis offēnsiō 15 est. Quae tamen omnia dulciōra fīunt et mōribus bonīs et artibus; idque cum in vītā, tum in scaenā intellegī potest ex eīs frātribus, quī in Adelphīs sunt. Quanta in alterō dīritās, in alterō cōmitās! Sīc sē rēs habet; ut enim nōn omne vīnum, sīc nōn 20 omnis nātūra vetustāte coacēscit. Sevēritātem in

¹ illius, A. & G. 151, e, and 195, c; G. & L. 307, Rem. 4; H. 450, 4, n. 2.

² videatur, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 2; H. 605, 1.

senectūte probō, sed eam, sīcut alia, modicam, acerbitātem nūllō modō. 66. Avāritia vērō senīlis quid sibi velit, nōn intellegō; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quō viae minus restet, eō plūs 5 viāticī quaerere?

CHAPTER XIX.

IV. Old Age is near Death.

But is death an evil? It either utterly destroys the soul, or takes it to eternal life. In the first case it is in no respect to be feared, in the second it is a reason for joy.

Quārta restat causa, quae māximē angere atque sollicitam habēre 1 nostram aetātem vidētur, adpropīnquātiō mortis, quae certē ā senectūte nōn potest esse longē. Ō miserum senem quī mortem contemnendam esse in tam longā aetāte nōn vīderit! quae aut plānē neglegenda est, sī omnīnō exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, sī aliquō eum dēdūcit, ubi sit futūrus aeternus; atquī tertium certē nihil invenīrī potest.

Youth has not the advantage in all respects; for (1) a young man is quite as uncertain as an old one of a single day's life; (2) he is more prone to disease, suffers more, recovers more painfully; (3) an old man is freer from foolish hopes; (4) he has in some respects fruition in the place of

¹ sollicitam habere, A. & G. 292, c; G. & L. 238; H. 388, 1, n.

hopes; (5) he has the pleasure of memory; (6) and, above all, he dies without struggle or reluctance, like the dropping of ripe fruit.

67. Quid igitur timeam, sī aut non miser post mortem aut beātus etiam futūrus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvīs sit² adulēscēns, cuī³ sit exploratum sē ad vesperum esse vīctūrum? Quīn etiam aetās illa multo plūrīs quam nostra 5 cāsūs mortis habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adulēscentēs, gravius aegrōtant, trīstius cūrantur. Itaque paucī veniunt ad senectūtem; quod nī ita accideret, melius et prūdentius vīverētur. Mēns enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est; qui si 10 nullī fuissent, nullae omnīno cīvitātēs fuissent. Sed redeō ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crīmen senectūtis, cum id eī videātis cum adulēscentiā esse commūne? 68. Sēnsī ego in optimō fīliō, tū in exspectātīs ad amplissimam dīgnitātem 15 frātribus, Scīpiō, mortem omnī aetātī esse commūnem. At spērat adulēscēns diū sē vīctūrum, quod spērāre idem senex non potest. Insipienter spērat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certīs habēre, falsa pro vērīs? At senex ne quod spēret 20 quidem habet. At est eō meliōre condicione quam

¹ timeam, A. &. G. 268; G. & L. 259; H. 486, II.

² quamvis sit, A. & G. 313, a, g; G. & L. 606; H. 515, III. and n. 3.

⁸ cui, A. & G. 235; G. & L. 353; H. 384, 4, n. 3.

adulēscēns, quoniam id, quod ille spērat, hīc consecūtus est; ille¹ vult diū vīvere, hīc¹ diū vīxit. 69. Quamquam, O dī bonī! quid est in hominis nātūrā diū? Dā enim summum tempus, exspectē-5 mus Tartēssiōrum rēgis aetātem (fuit enim, ut scrīptum videō, Arganthōnius quīdam Gādibus, quī octogintā rēgnāvit annos, centum vīgintī vīxit) sed mihi nē diūturnum quidem quicquam vidētur in quō est aliquid extrēmum. Cum enim id advēnit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtūte et rēctē factīs consecūtus sīs²; hōrae quidem cēdunt et diēs et mēnsēs et annī, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur scīrī potest; quod cuique temporis 15 ad vīvendum datur, eō dēbet esse contentus. 70. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fābula est, modo, in quōcumque fuerit āctū, probētur, neque sapientibus usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetātis satis longum 20 est ad bene honestēque vīvendum; sīn prōcēsserit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeteritā vērnī temporis suāvitāte aestātem autumnumque vēnisse.3 Vēr enim tamquam adulēscentiam sīgnificat ostenditque frūctūs futūrōs,

371, III., n. 1.

ille, hic, A. & G. 102, a; G. & L. 307, Rem. 1, (b); H. 450, 2, n.
 consecutus sis, A. & G. 311, a; G. & L. 257, n. 3; H. 486, III.
 aestatem . . . venisse, A. & G. 237, b; G. & L. 330, Rem.; H.

reliqua autem tempora dēmetendīs frūctibus et percipiendīs accommodāta sunt. 71. Frūctus autem senectūtis est, ut saepe dīxī, ante partōrum bonōrum memoria et cōpia. Omnia autem quae secundum nātūram fīunt sunt habenda in bonīs. Quid 5 est autem tam secundum nātūram quam senibus 1 ēmorī? Quod idem contingit adulēscentibus adversante et repügnante nātūrā. Itaque adulēscentēs mihi morī sīc videntur, ut cum aquae multitūdine flammae vīs opprimitur, senēs autem sīc, ut cum 10 suā sponte nūllā adhibitā vī consūmptus īgnis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, crūda sī sunt, vix ēvelluntur, sī mātūra et cocta, dēcidunt, sīc vītam adulēscentibus vīs aufert, senibus mātūritās; quae quidem mihi tam iūcunda est, ut, quō 15 propius ad mortem accēdam,² quasi terram vidēre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longā nāvigātione esse ventūrus.

¹ senibus, A. & G. 235; G. & L. 352; H. 384, 4, n. 2.

² accedam, A. & G. 342; G. & L. 629 and 663, 1; H. 529, II., n. 1, 1.

CHAPTER XX.

- (7) Old age is less anxious than youth, because its limit is not fixed as is that of adolescence; (8) it is better to die by the gradual and kindly process of nature than by the violent disruption which the resistance of a fresh constitution causes.
- 72. Senectūtis autem nūllus est certus terminus, rēctēque in eā vīvitur, quoad mūnus officī exsequī et tuērī possīt [mortemque contemnere]; ex quō fit, ut animōsior etiam senectūs sit quam adulēscentia 5 et fortior. Hōc illud est quod Pīsistratō tyrannō ā Solōne respōnsum est, cum illī quaerentī, quā tandem rē frētus sibi tam audāciter obsisteret, respondisse dīcitur: 'Senectūte.' Sed vīvendī est fīnis optimus, cum integrā mente certīsque sēnsibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coāgmentāvit, nātūra dissolvit. Ut nāvem, ut aedificium īdem dēstruit facillimē, quī cōnstrūxit, sīc hominem eadem optimē quae conglūtināvit nātūra dissolvit. Iam omnis conglūtinātiō recēns aegrē, inveterāta facile dīvellitur.
 - Therefore death, though not to be sought, is not to be mourned; for to mourn the inevitable is to destroy all peace of mind. As a fact, men not only disregard uncertain, but cheerfully confront certain death. Every age has its pursuits and limit: the limit of old age is death, and is not regretted more than the limit of other ages.

Ita fit ut illud breve vītae reliquum nec avidē adpetendum senibus nec sine causā dēserendum sit; vetatque Pythagorās iniūssū imperātōris, id est deī, dē praesidiō et statiōne vītae dēcēdere. 73. Solōnis quidem sapientis est ēlogium, quō sē negat velle 5 suam mortem dolōre amīcōrum et lāmentīs vacāre. Volt, crēdō, sē esse cārum suīs; sed haud sciō an melius Ennius:

Nēmō mē lacrumīs decoret neque fūnera flētū Faxit. 1

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74. Non cēnset lūgendam esse mortem, quam immortālitās consequātur. Iam sēnsus moriendī aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim senī; post mortem quidem sēnsus aut optandus aut nūllus est. Sed hōc meditātum ab adulēscentiā tōebet esse mortem ut neglegāmus, sine quā meditātione tranquillō animō esse nēmō potest. Moriendum enim certē est, et incertum an hōc ipsō diē. Mortem igitur omnibus hōrīs impendentem timēns² quī³ poterit animō consistere? 75. Dē quā non ita longā disputātione opus esse vidētur, cum recorder non L. Brūtum, quī in līberandā patriā est interfectus, non duōs Deciōs, quī ad voluntāriam mortem cursum equōrum incitāvērunt, non M. Atīlium, quī

 $^{^{1}}$ faxit, A. & G. 142, 128, $e,\ 3,\ {\rm and}\ 142\,;$ G. & L. 131, 4, b, 2; H. 240, 4.

² timens, A. & G. 310, a; G. & L. 667; H. 549, 2.

 $^{^{3}~}qui,\,\mathrm{A.\,\&\,G.\,104},\,c\,;\,\,\mathrm{G.\,\&\,L.\,105},\,3,\,\mathrm{and\,106},\,\mathrm{n.\,2}\,;\,\,\mathrm{H.\,188},\,\mathrm{II.\,2}.$

ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hostī datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis 1 vel corporibus suīs obstruere voluērunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit conlegae in Cannensi 5 īgnōminiā temeritātem, non M. Mārcellum, cūius interitum nē crūdēlissimus guidem hostis honore sepultūrae carēre passus est, sed legionēs nostrās, quod scrīpsī in Orīginibus, in eum locum saepe profectās alacrī animō et ērēctō, unde sē reditūrās 10 numquam arbitrārentur. Quod igitur adulēscentēs, et eī quidem non solum indoctī, sed etiam rūsticī, contemnunt, id doctī senēs extimēscent? 76. Omnīnō, ut mihi quidem vidētur, studiōrum omnium satietās vītae facit satietātem. Sunt pueritiae studia 15 certa; num igitur ea dēsīderant adulēscentēs? Sunt ineuntis adulēscentiae: num ea constans iam requirit aetās quae media dīcitur? Sunt etiam ēius aetātis; nē ea guidem guaeruntur in senectūte. Sunt extrēma quaedam studia senectūtis: ergō, ut superiō-20 rum aetātum studia occidunt, sīc occidunt etiam senectūtis; quod cum ēvēnit, satietās vītae tempus mātūrum mortis adfert.

¹ Poenis, A. & G. 235, a; G. & L. 352; H. 384, 4, n. 2.

CHAPTER XXI.

As we have mentioned death, I will give you my sentiments thereon. (1) I believe that the great men whom we call dead are alive. Flesh is but a temporary prison of the soul, which is of divine origin. This is taught by reason, and is supported by the authority of great philosophers. Pythagoras taught that the souls of men are parts of the great world soul. The capabilities of the soul. Is not the soul self-moved, incomposite, and therefore imperishable? Does not the ease with which children learn indicate a previous existence?

77. Non enim video cūr, quid ipse sentiam dē morte, non audeam vobīs dīcere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab eā propius¹ absum. Ego vestros patrēs, P. Scīpio, tūque, C. Laelī, viros clārissimos mihique amīcissimos, vīvere arbitror, et eam 5 quidem vītam, quae est sola vīta nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclūsī in hīs compāgibus corporis, mūnere quodam necessitātis et gravī opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio dēpressus et quasi dēmersus in terram, locum odīvīnae nātūrae aeternitātīque contrārium. Sed crēdo deos immortālīs sparsisse animos in corpora hūmāna, ut essent, quī terrās tuērentur, quīque caelestium ordinem contemplantēs imitārentur eum vītae modo atque constantiā. Nec mē solum ratio 15

¹ propius, A. & G. 261, a, n.; G. & L. 359, n. 1.

āc disputātiō impulit, ut ita crēderem, sed nōbilitās etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritās. 78. Audiēbam Pythagoram Pythagorēosque, incolās paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam 5 nōminātī, numquam, dubitāsse, quīn ex ūniversā mente dīvīnā dēlībātōs animōs habērēmus. Dēmōnstrābantur mihi praetereā, quae Sōcratēs suprēmō vītae diē dē immortālitāte animōrum disseruisset,2 is quī esset omnium sapientissimus ōrāculō Apollinis 10 iūdicātus. Quid multa? Sīc persuāsī mihi, sīc sentiō, cum tanta celeritās animōrum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artēs, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam nātūram, quae rēs eās contineat, esse mortālem, 15 cumque semper agitētur animus nec prīncipium mōtūs habeat, quia sē ipse moveat, nē fīnem quidem habitūrum esse motūs, quia numquam sē ipse sit relictūrus; et, cum simplex animī esset nātūra, neque habēret in sē guicguam admīxtum dispār suī atque 20 dissimile, non posse eum dīvidī; quod sī non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento hominēs scīre plēraque ante quam nātī sint, quod iam pueri, cum artīs difficilīs dīscant, ita celeriter rēs innumerābilīs arripiant, ut eās non tum prīmum 25 accipere videantur, sed reminīscī et recordārī. Haec Platonis fere.

¹ haberemus, A. & G. 287, d; H. 495, V.

² disseruisset, A. & G. 341, c; G. & L. 628; H. 528, 1.

CHAPTER XXII.

For example, listen to the dying speech of Cyrus to his sons: The soul is invisible. The spirits of the dead still influence us so that we remember them. The soul freed from the body is ennobled. Death is like sleep.

79. Apud 1 Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus māior haec dīcit: 'Nolīte' arbitrārī, Ō mihi cārissimī fīliī, mē, cum ā vōbīs discēsserō, nusquam aut nūllum fore. Nec enim, dum eram 3 vobīscum, animum meum vidēbātis, sed eum esse in hōc corpore ex eīs 5 rēbus guās gerēbam intellegēbātis. Eundem igitur esse crēditōte, etiamsī nūllum vidēbitis. 80. Nec vēro clārorum virorum post mortem honores permanērent, sī nihil eōrum ipsōrum animī efficerent, quō diūtius memoriam suī tenērēmus. Mihi quidem 10 numquam persuādērī potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortālibus, vīvere, cum excēssissent ex eīs, ēmorī, nec vēro tum animum esse īnsipientem, cum ex însipienti corpore ēvāsisset, sed cum omnī admīxtione corporis līberātus pūrus et integer esse 15 coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam cum hominis nātūra morte dissolvitur, cēterārum rērum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim

¹ apud, A. & G. 258, c, 2, n. 2; G. & L. 416, 4; H. 433, 1.

² Nolite arbitrari, A. & G. 269, a, 2; G. & L. 271, 2; H. 489, I.

³ dum eram, A. & G. 276, e, n.; G. & L. 570, 569; H. 519, I., 467, 4, with n.

illūc omnia, unde orta sunt, animus autem sōlus nec cum adest nec cum discēdit, appāret. Iam vērō vidētis nihil esse mortī tam simile quam somnum. 81. Atquī dormientium animī māximē dēclārant 5 dīvīnitātem suam; multa enim, cum remissī et līberī sunt, futūra prōspiciunt. Ex quō intellegitur quālēs futūrī sint, cum sē plānē corporis vinculīs relaxāverint. Quārē, sī haec ita sunt, sīc mē colitōte,' inquit, 'ut deum; sīn ūnā est interitūrus animus cum corpore, vōs tamen, deōs verentēs, quī hanc omnem pulchritūdinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostrī piē inviolātēque servābitis.' 1

CHAPTER XXIII.

- (2) I believe that great men are inspired to do great things because they see that the future of the world will concern themselves. Hence a noble disdain of inglorious ease. Hence, too, the wisest man meets death the most calmly.
- (3) I feel a longing desire to see the great of old. I do not desire to live my life again (though I do not regret having lived it), for the time comes when we have had enough. But I shall rejoin my son, whose loss I bore because of this assurance.
- 82. Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra videāmus. Nēmo umquam mihi, Scīpio, per-

¹ servabitis, A. & G. 269, f; G. & L. 272, 1, b; H. 487, 4.

suādēbit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duōs avōs, Paulum et Āfricānum, aut Āfricānī patrem, aut patruum, aut multos praestantīs viros quos ēnumerāre non est necesse, tanta esse conātos,1 quae ad posteritātis memoriam pertinērent, nisi animō cer- 5 nerent posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere. cēnsēs, ut dē mē ipse aliquid more senum glorier. mē tantos laborēs diurnos nocturnosque domī mīlitiaeque susceptūrum fuisse, sī eīsdem fīnibus glōriam meam, quibus vītam, essem terminātūrus? Nonne 10 melius multō fuisset ōtiōsam et quiētam aetātem sine üllö laböre et contentione traducere? Sed nēsciō quō modō² animus ērigēns sē posteritātem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum dēnique vīctūrus esset. Quod quidem nī ita sē 15 habēret, ut animī inmortālēs essent,3 haud optimī cūiusque animus māximē ad inmortālitātem et glōriam nīterētur. 83. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimō animō moritur, stultissimus inīguissimō, nonne vobīs vidētur is animus guī plūs 20 cernat⁴ et longius, vidēre sē ad meliora proficīscī, ille autem, cūius obtūsior sit4 acies, non videre?

¹ esse conatos, A. & G. 337, b, 2, and 308, b; G. & L. 659, n. and 254, 3; H. 527, III. and n. 2, 1.

² nescio quo modo, A. & G. 210, f, Rem.; G. & L. 467, Rem.; H. 529, 5, 3).

³ ut animi . . . essent, A. & G. 332, f; G. & L. 553, 4; H. 501, III.

⁴ cernat and sit, A. & G. 320; G. & L. 631, 1; H. 503, I.

Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dīlēxī videndī, neque vērō eōs sōlos convenīre aveō quōs ipse cōgnōvī, sed illōs etiam dē quibus audīvī et lēgī et ipse conscrīpsī; quo quidem mē proficīscen-5 tem haud sānē quid facile retrāxerit, nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et sī quis deus mihi largiātur,2 ut ex hāc aetāte repuerāscam et in cūnīs vāgiam, valdē recūsem, nec vērō velim quasi dēcursō spatiō ad carcerēs ā calce revocārī. 84. Quid habet enim 10 vīta commodī? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat³ sānē, habet certē tamen aut satietātem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multī, et eī doctī, saepe fēcērunt, neque mē vīxisse paenitet, quoniam ita vīxī, ut non frūstrā 15 mē nātum exīstimem, et ex vītā ita discēdō tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandī enim nātūra dēvorsōrium nōbīs, nōn habitandī dedit. O praeclārum diem, cum in illud dīvīnum animōrum concilium coetumque proficīs-20 car cumque ex hāc turbā et conluvione discēdam! Proficīscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dīxī, vērum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nēmo vir melior nātus est, nēmō pietāte praestantior; cūius ā mē corpus est cremātum, quod contrā decuit 25 ab illō meum, animus vērō, nōn mē dēserēns sed

¹ retraxerit, A. & G. 311; G. & L. 257, 2, n. 1, ad fin.

 ² si largiatur, G. & L. 596, Rem. 1; H. 509, n. 2.
 3 habeat, A. & G. 266, c; G. & L. 264; H. 484, 3.

respectāns, in ea profectō loca discēssit, quō mihi ipsī cernēbat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum cāsum fortiter ferre vīsus sum, nōn quō aequō animō ferrem,¹ sed mē ipse cōnsōlābar exīstimāns nōn longīnquum inter nōs dīgressum et 5 discēssum fore.

Thus it comes about that I bear my years lightly. I may be wrong, but if so, I prefer my error. If death ends all, there will be none to jeer at my mistake, nor shall I be conscious of it if they do. In any case it is well to go at our proper time. Life is like a drama; old age its last act; all are tired, perhaps bored; it is best to go.

85. Hīs mihi rēbus, Scīpiō (id enim tē cum Laeliō admīrārī solēre dīxistī), levis est senectus, nec sōlum nōn molesta sed etiam iūcunda. Quod sī in hōc errō, quī animōs hominum inmortālīs esse crēdam, 10 libenter errō; nec mihi hunc errōrem, quō dēlector, dum vīvō, extorquērī volō; sīn mortuus, ut quīdam minūtī philosophī cēnsent, nihil sentiam, nōn vereor, nē hunc errōrem meum philosophī mortuī irrīdeant. Quod sī nōn sumus inmortālēs futūrī, tamen 15 exstinguī hominī suō tempore optābile est. Nam habet nātūra, ut aliārum omnium rērum, sīc vīvendī modum. Senectus autem aetātis est perāctiō tam-

¹ ferrem, A. & G. 341, d, Rem.; G. & L. 541, Rem. 1; H. 516, II. 2.

quam fābulae, cūius dēfatīgātiōnem fugere debēmus, praesertim adiūneta satietāte. Haec habuī, dē senectūte quae dīcerem, ad quam utinam perveniātis, ut ea, quae ex mē audīstis, rē expertī probāre possītis.





NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. **Ō** Tite, etc.: Cicero applies to Titus Pomponius Atticus, his intimate friend, lines from the tenth book of the *Annales* of Ennius, in which a shepherd, who, in the war with Philip of Macedon, guided the Romans under Titus Quinctius Flamininus to the heights commanding the Macedonian army, is represented as addressing the Roman general. (Livy, 32, 9, 10.)

Ennius: was born at Rudiae in Calabria B.C. 239 and died 169. His chief work was an epic poem in Latin hexameters called *Annales*, a history of Rome from the time of Aeneas

down to his own age.

Flāminīnus: Tītus Quinctius Flamininus was consul in B.C. 198 and afterwards obtained Macedonia as his *provincia*, where in the spring of 197 he fought the battle of Cynoscephalae and defeated Philip of Macedon. His great work was the establishment of Roman power in Greece. In 183 he served as ambassador to Prusias, king of Bithynia, in regard to Hannibal, who thereupon through fear of the Romans poisoned himself.

Titus Pomponius, surnamed Atticus from his residence in Athens, was born in B.C. 109. He was wealthy, fond of learning, and content, though constantly associating with men prominent in political life, to live without attaining official position. Our information in regard to him is mainly derived from the letters which he received from Cicero and preserved. We have also a biography by Cornelius Nepos. Cicero, in letters to Atticus (cf. 16, 11, 3), speaks of this treatise under the title 'O Tite,' a Roman custom of using the initial words as a title, as, in the case of the Aeneid, Arma virumque.

1 adiŭero: for adiūvero — the long vowel becomes short after

the loss of v.

levāssō: a form of the Fut. Perf. in -so variously explained as a syncopated levavero, originally levaveso, or as a separate formation in -so, related to -sim of Perf. Subj. (cf. faxim § 73) and -sem of Plupf. Subj. The double s may be due to analogy with syncopated perfects, as amasse for amavisse. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 462.

2 coquit et versāt in pectore fixa: 'which, fixed (like a sting) in your breast, now burns and tortures you.' The metaphor seems to be taken from some sting or poisoned dart which causes a lasting irritation and pain. Versāt: original final

vowel was long. Corssen, Aussp. II2, 488. See § 10.

3 praemī: the $i\bar{i}$ form of genitives of nouns in -ium appears a short time before the imperial period, hence we do not find it in Cicero, Vergil, and Horace.

5 adfatur: the subject is ille vir, i.e. the shepherd.

1 haud māgnā cum rē, of no great possessions, re (familiari): cum with the ablative is here equivalent to the ablative of characteristic as shown in § 59, multo auro multisque gemmis.

plēnus: the final s was pronounced so lightly that in old poetry it was neglected in scanning. The s is often omitted in inscriptions, and in the a declension it has been lost entirely. Cf. Lindsay, $Latin\ Language$, p. 122. See note on confectus, p. 83.

2 quamquam: and yet, corrective, etsi in § 2 and § 29 is of similar force, but not so common in this use as quamquam.

3 noctësque diësque: note poetical que—que for et—et. The more common collocations are dies noctesque or dies et noctes.

4 aequitatem: evenness of mind.

animitui: refers to both moderationem and aequitatem, hence placed between the two, an arrangement of words termed conjunctio.

5. cōgnōmen: Atticus, a name given to Titus Pomponius after his stay in Athens. Cognomina had their origin in circumstances, local or personal, connected with some individual, as Terence was Afer, from Africa,Ovid, Naso, from some peculiarity of feature in his ancestors. Cognomina might be ex virtute, as Africanus, Macedonicus. Mommsen, History of Rome, vol. 2, p. 348, says that the first instance of this was the name Messala, obtained by Manius Valerius Maximus, Cos. B.C. 263, because of his conquest of Messana.

dēportāsse: the favorite form of the Perf. Inf. in Cicero. This verb is regularly used by the best writers of carriage from the provinces to Rome and not *vice versa*, as *de* equals down, i.e. toward Rome. (Reid.)

6 humanitatem: cultivated character.

prudentiam: sound common sense.

7 eīsdem rēbus: i.e. the political affairs of the day. The dialogue was written in the months following the death of Julius Caesar, when the State was in the greatest confusion; and when Cicero despaired of the safety of the Republic because of the proceedings of Antony.

mē ipsum: accusative, following the construction of the te with commoveri, although logically quibus ego ipse commoveor

is needed.

8 māior: such sorrows require maior consolatio than can be given in this treatise. Others render maior as equivalent to difficilior.

9 vīsum est mihi conscribere: The impersonal use of videri is rare. This impersonal use in compound tenses is similar to that of verbs of saying, showing, believing, which generally prefer the impersonal construction in compound tenses, but the personal in simple tenses. Reid assigns a special force, placuit mihi, I have resolved, to the impersonal use of videri.

10 aliquid ad te: some work dedicated to you.

conscribere: to compose; cf. Gk. $\sigma \nu \gamma \gamma \rho \acute{a} \phi \epsilon \iota \nu$, of a history. (Thucyd. 1, 1.)

§ 2. 1. 12. certe: at least.

senectūtis: Atticus was sixty-five, Cicero sixty-two.

13 te quidem: you at any rate.

14 modicē: without undue repining, cf. moderationem § 1, line 4.

sapienter: as becomes a philosopher, cf. aequitatem § 1, line 4; ac adds the more important sapienter to the less important modice.

 $\bar{a}c$: this form does not stand before vowels or h; atque stands before vowels, also before consonants except the gutturals, when it serves as a connective between two individual notions; but, when sentences are connected, ac alone is used. (G. & L. 477, n.7.)

et ferre et lät \overline{u} rum. Cicero generally uses et-et rather than

a single et, when a verb is repeated with variation of tense, perhaps to point out the contrast. (Tischer.)

15 certō sciō: in classical Latin certe may be used with all verbs, certo with scio only; certe scio = I am sure that I know; certo scio = I have certain knowledge. (Reid.)

sed: is here elliptical, implying that although what is said in the previous clause is true, yet his mind is turned toward Atticus when writing the book.

16 eo... uteretur: of a gift suited to the common benefit of us both. For mood, see gram. ref.

18 mihi quidem: serves to recall the uterque partitively. ita iūcunda confectio: I so enjoyed the composition of the book.

21 satis digne: in a manner according to her worth.

1 cui qui pareat... possit: i.e., cum is, qui ei pareat. The Subj. possit is generally explained as of cause or reason, and pareat as attracted to the mood of possit. Reid considers possit due to the conditional force of the sentence from qui... degere, and treats cui as equal to et ei, and qui = si quis. Note concurrence of two relatives, and see Nägelsbach, $Stillstik^{j}$, p. 532.

§ 3. 1. 2 cēterīs: neuter adjective used as a noun; so. rebus = other philosophical topics; note proleptic use in opposition to the following senectute: 'The best writers do not often use the neuter adjective as a noun in the oblique cases unless the context shows the gender.' (Reid.) Note the chiastic arrangement—

 $\underset{saepe}{diximus} \times \underset{dicimus.}{multa}$

Cf. Nägelsbach, Stilistik, pp. 546-548.

3 hunc librum: note adversative asyndeton.

5.tribuimus: perf. tense.

Tithono: son of Laomedon, beloved by Aurora ('H\u03245), who obtained for him perpetual life, but not perpetual youth. He therefore withered away and prayed for death, until Aurora in pity changed him to a grasshopper. See Tennyson's Tithonus.

Aristō: born in Ceos, so termed Cius ($K\epsilon \hat{c}os$), was a Peripatetic philosopher, and head of the school from about B.C. 230. None of his writings remain save perhaps two epigrams ascribed to him in the Anthology (6, 303; 7, 457).

6 in fābulā: in a mere mythical story. The point and interest of the essay is increased by the selection of Cato as the chief character rather than a fabulous existence.

8 apud quem: at whose house, i.e. Cato's. Laelium . . . Scīpiōnem: see Introduction.

10 **ērudītius**: more learnedly. Cicero is excusing the frequent quotations from Greek poets and philosophers which he has put in Cato's mouth in the course of this essay. For Cato's ostentatious ignorance of Greek literature and his subsequent attention to it, see § 26.

11 suïs librīs: Origines, a work on early Roman history, and De Re Rustica. We have fragments of the former, and the greater part of the latter. Note emphatic position of suis.

13 quid opus est plura: sc. dicere. Cf. quid multa, sc.

dicam § 78, also §§ 10, 13, 25, 27, 42, 44, 45, 47, 73, 78.

15 de senectute: note the attributive position of the phrase.

CHAPTER II.

§ 4. 1.1 Saepe numero: the word numero is a simple ablative with adverbial force, strengthening saepe, it is frequently my wont.

cum hoc: note the gesture-like (deictic) pronoun.

- 2 cēterārum rērum: in all other things, the objective genitive depending on sapientiam. This construction represents a verb and accusative: i.e. tuam sapientiam rerum = te sapere res. This transitive use of sapientia is not common, but Cicero (De Or. 2, 154) says sapientia constituendae civitatis, where it = scientia or ars.
- 5 sēnserim: the subjunctive shows the thought of the subject of soleo, I am wont to be astonished because I have observed. The speaker gives his reason as one previously noted or stated and thus virtually makes a quotation.

odiosa: disagreeable, unpleasant.

6 onus Aetnā gravius: a proverbial expression referring to the burying of the giants under Mt. Aetna, when they were defeated by the gods. (Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 637.)

8 quibus: dative of possessor, i.e. those who have no resources in themselves.

10 quī petunt: this probably recalls the Stoic doctrine of the $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \dot{\alpha} \rho \kappa \epsilon \iota s$, self-sufficient men who depend upon themselves alone for their happiness.

12 quo in genere: a favorite position of monosyllabic prepositions between the attribute and the noun.

13 ut . . . adeptam: notice the chiasmus.

14 adeptam: probably the only example in Cicero of the passive use of *adeptus*, which is not uncommon in Sallust, Ovid, Tacitus. A large number of deponents had passive participles in use, such as *comitatus*, *criminatus*, *imitatus*, etc. See a full list in Roby, § 734. Cf. *dimensa* in § 59.

stultitiae: abstract for concrete = foolish men.

15 obrēpere: steals upon them, § 38.

āiunt: sc. stulti.

1 putāssent: Subj. mood is due to indirect discourse. putaverant, in the direct discourse.

falsum: substantive use, cf. ceteris § 3, gratissimum § 6.

2 adulēscentia . . . senectūs . . . puerītia: in a general way the Romans spoke of the period from 17-45 years as *iuventus*, while more exactly *adulescentia* belonged to 17-30 years, and *iuventus* to 30-45. Cicero here speaks of *iuventus* under the lesser term *adulescentia*. The next term is from 45-60 = aetas seniorum, and after 60 the term is senectus. The period 17-45 was that of active service, while 45-60 was the period of special and extraordinary service. In § 60 Cicero identifies senectus with aetas seniorum, and may include the latter in the general use of senectus. In § 74 we find a division of four or five periods.

6 quamvis: = quantumvis.

effluxisset... posset: the latter word is subjunctive mood due to the supposititious character of the sentence, cum really having force of si. The effluxisset is due to the subjunctive posset, for their past, however long, would have no power when once it was past, to soften the regrets of an old age that had never learned wisdom.

§ 5. 1. 9 nostrō cōgnōmine: Sapiens, though Cato does not seem to have obtained this cognomen to the same universal extent as Laelius. Cato, his proper cognomen, is connected with catus, shrewd; the additional name generally applied is Censor Censorius, but that he was also spoken of as Sapiens, Cicero implies again in the Laelius, § 9.

10 nātūram optimam ducem: the Stoic definition of the ethical summum bonum, was to live in accordance with nature, naturae convenienter vivere, ὁμολογουμένως $\tau \hat{\eta}$ φύσει ζ $\hat{\eta}$ ν; see Laelius, § 19. We must notice that natura is not used as we use 'nature' in such phrases as the 'face of nature;' it means the laws or conditions of nature. The Stoic sapiens was the ideal in the realization of the principles as to 'life in accordance with nature.'

12 $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ qu $\bar{\mathbf{a}} = ab \ ea \ enim$.

cēterae partēs: for other instances of this comparison of life to a drama, see §§ 50, 64, 70, 86, and compare the question of Augustus, when dying, to his friends, Ecquid eis videretur minum vitae commode transegisse? (Suet. Aug. 99), also familiar lines from Shakespeare, As You Like It, Act II. sc. 7; Merchant of Venice, Act I. sc. 1; Macbeth, Act V. sc. 5

13 aetātis = vitae, i.e. life, not a portion of it.

descriptae: written out, i.e. composed. The reading discriptae, cf. § 59, would refer to the distribution of the several parts assigned in the play, but it is not here in point and does not seem to be used elsewhere in such sense. Supply ab ea with descriptae from a qua.

15 aliquid extremum: some end: for extremum as a substantive cf. Laelius, § 14. The comparison of an old man's death

to the falling of ripe fruit occurs again § 71. fuit: it was and will be. (See G. & L. 236, 2.)

16 in: in the case of; cf. § 21.

bācīs: a general term for fruits growing on bushes or trees; note modifier arborum.

terraeque früctibus: here = cereals, roots, vegetables, small fruits: note modifier terrae.

17 viētum: a period of withering, so to speak, and of a tendency to drop. The root of this word appears in vieo, an obsolete verb found in Ennius = to plait, and in vitex, vitta, vimem, vitis. See Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 266.

18 ferundum: The older ending of the gerund and gerundive in the third and fourth conjugation is -undus; it occurs fre-

quently in classical times.

19 Gigantum: What else resembles waging war against the gods in the manner of the giants than to resist nature. The battle of the Giants against the Gods is a legend subsequent to

Homer, with whom they are merely a race of huge men. But it became a favorite story afterwards, with many variations. Horace mentions the *cohors gigantum* in C. 2, 19, 21, and in C. 3, 4, 49, he enumerates them, and Vergil, Aen. 3, 578, refers to the legend that one of them was buried under Aetna by Jupiter; cf. § 4.

§ 6. l. 1 Atquī: but at any rate, not contradictory. grātissimum: here used as a noun; cf. falsum § 4.

2 pollicear: note the absolute subj. in this idiomatic clause,

used in passing to a new subject, and see gram. ref.

fēceris... didicerimus: to correspond with feceris, si nos docueris would be natural, though the didicerimus is more courteous and in accord with speramus.

multo ante: sc. quam id factum erit.

4 quibus rationibus: by taking what measures, by guiding ourselves by what principles, we may most easily support the increasing burden of age.

5 ingravescentem: note the inceptive force.

7 vestrum: partitive, hence not vestri.

futurum est = $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\ell\nu a\iota$: 'this form of the Future is used in preference to the simple erit because it is desired to represent the event as on the very point of fulfilment, and therefore, sure of fulfilment.' (Reid.) Cf. § 67 beatus futurus sum, §§ 81 and 85.

9 tamquam longam viam: this sentiment is expressed in similar language in the address of Socrates to the aged Cephalus in the beginning of Plato's Republic. Note the homoeoteleuton in — am.

quam—ingrediundum sit: note the neuter gerundive followed by the accusative case, a very rare construction save in

Lucretius. See references to grammars.

10 istūc, quō pervēnistī, the point which you have reached; cf. istuc aetatis, at your time of life. (Terence, Heaut. 1, 1, 58.) istuc is the neuter pronoun and is more common in classical Latin than istud. Cf. § 8. Note the prolepsis whereby istuc, the subject of the dependent clause quale sit, is made the object of the principal clause videre.

§7. 1.12 faciam, ut potero: the future, potero, where Eng-

lish uses the present.

enim: gives the reason for his consent (faciam).

- 1 vetere proverbio: dates back to Homer, Od. 17, 218 ώς alel τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ώς τὸν ὁμοῖον, cf. 'Birds of a feather flock together;' Plato's, Rep. 1. 239; Hor. Ep. 1, 5, 25; Quint. 5, 11, 41.
- 2 quae: constructio ad sensum, the relative agrees in a general way with querellis, complainings, viz., such words of lament as . . . were wont to give utterance to.

C. Salinātor: this was probably C. Livius Salinator, who equipped the Roman fleet in the war against Antiochus. He was praetor in B.C. 191, consul in 188. (Livy 35, 24.) He was

a little younger than Cato.

- Sp. Albīnus: Sp. Postumius Albinus, consul B.C. 186. In his consulship some scandalous revelations as to the proceedings at the Bacchanalian Initiations were made to him and reported to the Senate. The consuls, directed by the Senate, punished the guilty, and the mysteries were forbidden for the future. He died in 180. He was a little younger than Salinator. (Livy, 39, 6-16.)
- 3 consulares: ex-consuls. The word consulares came to be used as nearly like a title of modern times as anything in Republican Rome. The consulares had special privileges in the Senate, being always called upon for their sententia before other senators. They alone were eligible for certain of the provinces, and in cases of emergency their auctoritas was as influential with the army as with the people. Cicero, so proud of being a consularis himself, is always careful to give this term of respect to others.
- 4 tum...tum: now...and now; these adverbs used thus correlatively fill the place of conjunctions, thus relinquishing some of their adverbial force; cf. modo...modo, simul...simul, and in later Latin pariter...pariter, juxta...juxta.

carërent . . . putarent . . . spernerentur: are oblique, representing the thought of Salinator and Albinus, not of Cato.

vītam nūllam: that life was no life.

- 6 id: referring to two complaints, but summing them up in one general idea.
- 8 usu venirent: would have been the case; usu venit = it happens (cf. accidere); usus venit, it becomes necessary; usus est, it is necessary (Ter. Heaut. 80 and 553); usu venire is a favourite expression of Cicero; usu in this phrase seems to mean

in the natural course of events; usu may be a kind of predicative dative or an ablative. Reid refers to venire excidio (Verg. Aen. 1, 22), odio (Pliny, N. H. 28, 106), subsidio (Caes. B. G. 5, 27).

10 sine querella: adjective in force, modifying senectutem. For spelling, see Munro's Lucretius, Introduction to text, p. 33.

11 $n\bar{o}n molest\bar{e}$ ferrent: = libenter ferrent, were glad, litotes.

Cf. Gk. χαλεπῶς φέρω.

14 nec difficiles nec inhumani: neither cross grained nor uncultivated. The first refers to peevishness of temper, the second to the lack of such accomplishments as give employment and consolation, the arma senectutis of § 9; they are both included in inhumanitas, whereas importunitas, unreasonableness, is opposed to the idea contained in moderati.

§ 8. 1.19 dixerit: Fut. Perf. Ind. (cf. Roby, Grammar, vol. 2, preface p. 104 ff.), or a Perf. Subj. used with potential

force.

opes: political influence.

copias: wealth.

dīgnitātem: social standing.

20 id: represents the idea of the preceding sentence.

22 Est istūc aliquid: there is something in what you say.
sed nēquāquam: but it doesn't contain the whole truth by
any means!

23 ut Themistoclēs . . . adsecūtum: this story is taken by Cicero from Plato De Rep. 1. p. 339 B. δs $\tau \varphi$ Σεριφί φ λοιδορουμέν φ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλά διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμοῖ, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐτ' ἀν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὧν ὀνόμαστος ἐγένετο οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος 'Αθηναῖος. Plutarch (Them. 18) gives the same version; but in Herodotus (8. 125) it appears somewhat differently, as a dialogue between Themistocles and an obscure Athenian who, being jealous of Themistocles' reception at Sparta, said that he owed it to the reputation of Athens, to which Themistocles replied, οὐτ' ἀν ἐγὰ ἐὰν βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων οὕτ' ἀν σύ, ἄνθρωπε, ἐὼν 'Αθηναῖος, — Belbina being a small island in the Saronic Gulf. (See Holden's Plut. Themist. l. c.)

1 Seriphio: Seriphus (now Serfo) is one of the Cyclades,

lying southeast of the Scyllaean promontory.

iurgio: iurgium is a quarrel which does not go beyond

75

words, rixa is a quarrel where the disputants come to blows. (Reid.)

6 Nec enim in summā inopiā: Themistocles for success required his own ability and his opportunity; so old age needs proper support and good judgment to make it endurable.

8 non gravis: other than grievous — note the chiasmus in

this sentence.

§ 9. 1. 9 arma: weapons of defence. senectūtis: subjective genitive.

artēs: sc. liberales; these are not merely accomplishments, but mental qualities acquired by industrious use of artes liberales. Vergil (G. 3, 101) talks of the artes of a horse, and Horace (C. 4, 15, 12) of the artes, morals, of a people, emovit

culpas Et veteres revocavit artes.

11 cum diū multumque vīxeris: after a long and full life, i.e. after a life of many years and much activity. Cicero is fond of the expression diu multumque, but generally uses it with verbs which make its meaning more obvious, as defletum, quaesitum, consultum, in manibus esse, cogitavi; cf. § 38. As applied to vivere it is not the mere use of a familiar combination of words. To secure the full fruits of industry and active virtue, life must not only have been long, it must have been well spent. Nemo satis vivit, says Martial (2, 90, 4), i.e. makes a sufficiently good use of his life, gets enough of it.

ecferunt: for spelling see Neue, Formenlehre2, vol. 2,

pp. 766, sq.

13 quamquam: cf. § 1.

§ 10. 1. 1 Q. Māximum: Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Ovicula Cunctator, consul B.C. 233, 228, 215, 214, 209; censor 230; dictator 221 and 217. Verrucosus is a cognomen distinguishing this family from that of other Fabii Maximi and derived from verruca = a wart; the second seems to have been given him because of his mildness; and the last came from his policy in the campaign against Hannibal. He was the spokesman of the embassy sent to Carthage to remonstrate against the siege of Saguntum. His response, 'I give you war,' was the declaration which announced the beginning of the Second Punic War. (Livy, 21. 18.) Fabius' policy of playing a waiting game was the salvation of Rome in the war with Hannibal. In his fourth consulship he besieged Casilinum and next year served

under his son as *legatus*. In his fifth consulship (209) he took Tarentum. He died in 203, after witnessing the final triumph of Scipio, who had crossed to Africa contrary to Fabius' policy.

3 comitate condita gravitas: a serious dignity seasoned

(condire) with courteous manners.

4 Quamquam: corrective because of senem dilexi.

6 Annō post cōnsul prīmum fuerat: Quintus Fabius Maximus was consul for the first time in B.C. 233, fourth time 214. In the previous year (215) he had as consul begun the siege of Capua, which lasted until 211. Accordingly Cato here is made to give some dates in his own life.

B.C. 234, Cato's birth.

Fabius, consul primum, B.C. 233.

Fabius, consul quartum, B.C. 214.

Siege of Capua, B.C. 214, Cato a miles of 20 years.

Recapture of Tarentum, B.C. 209, Cato with Fabius, age 25 years.

Tuditanus and Cethegus, consuls.

B.C. 204, Cato, quaestor, age 30 years.

8 adulescentulus: is an appositive standing for a clause, when quite a young man, I marched with him to Capua as a soldier.

ad Capuam: the preposition is used with the name of a town, as denoting the locality, i.e. to the camp or trenches at Capua. Cicero (Ad Att. 7, 3, 10) defends himself for using the expression in Piraeea exire (Ad Att. 6, 9, 1), on the ground non hoc ut oppido praeposui sed ut loco.

10 quadriennio post: after the lapse of four full years. quem magistrātum gessī: an office which I held; magistratum is explained by quaestor.

11 cum quidem: = according to Meissner, tum quidem cum. Tuditānō et Cethēgō: Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, consul B.C. 204; censor 209-8, was honored by being made censor before he had held the consulship, also by being elected consul while in Greece. He fought Hannibal in Bruttium and inflicted considerable damage upon him (Livy, 29, 36). Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, consul in 204, was famous as an orator. He was praetor in 211, being located in Sicily, where he served with much success (Livy, 26, 21). When consul he was in

charge in Etruria, opposing the influence of the Carthaginians. In 203 he served as proconsul among the Insubres and defeated Hannibal's brother, Mago. He died in 196. (Livy, 29, 36; 30, 18; 33, 42.) See note on suadae medullam § 51. The names of consuls without praenomina are generally connected by et, with praenomina the et is omitted; but cf. que § 50, note.

12 suāsor lēgis fuit: spoke in favor of the law; cf. the opposite dissuasimus in Laelius, § 96. Lator is the term defining the

proposer of a law.

legis Cinciae: the lex Cincia de muneribus or muneralis, proposed by a tribune, M. Cincius Alimentus, forbade an advocate to receive any fee for pleading a cause (ne quis ob causum orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat, Tac. A. 11, 5). That the law was evaded is undoubted; but we find Cicero in B.C. 59 entertaining, half in jest, some scruples about receiving a present of books from a client (Ad Att. 1, 20, 7). The law remained in force until A.D. 47, when the emperor Claudius fixed the advocate's fee at a maximum of 10,000 sesterces (about \$350), thus at length acknowledging as legal what had been done in defiance of the law. Livy (34, 3) makes Cato quote this law when speaking in favor of the sumptuary lex Oppia.

14 cum . . . esset: concessive.

grandis: sc. natu; cf. § 10; maior natu, maximus natu may be regarded as the comparative and superlative of the expression grandis natu; magnus natu does not occur, though parvus natu, minor natu, minimus are common.

1 iuveniliter: Hannibal was 29 years old in 218, when he

entered Italy.

patientia sua molliabat: gradually wearied out by his persistence, that is, by policy of acting on the defensive and refusing to come to an engagement. Cicero elsewhere (De Rep. 1, 1) describes the services of Fabius against Hannibal by the phrase bellum Punicum enervavit.

2 praeclārē: sc. dixit; cf. note § 3.

familiaris noster: my friend. Cato is said to have met Ennius in Sardinia and to have brought him to Rome.

3 Unus homo etc.: these lines, the first of which has been more quoted and copied by subsequent poets than perhaps any other in the language, are from the *Annales* of Ennius. (See Verg. Aen. 6, 846; Ov. Fast. 2, 241; Cic. De Off. 1, 84.)

rem: sc. publicam.

4 Noenum: the old form of the negative $n\bar{o}n$, which is generally explained as abbreviated from ne unum or -oinom, i.e. not one thing, cf. nihilum = ne-hilum, not a particle, cf. Eng. not $= naught = n\bar{a}wiht = not$ a whit. See Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 615.

rūmōrēs: reputation, fame; according to others, the unfavorable reports of his opponents; note the plural of the abstract noun as indicating the combination of a number of individual

opinions.

ponebāt: in older poets the last syllable of the third person singular of verbs is long as denoting the original quantity of the vowel; cf. arat, Hor. C. 3, 16, 26; cf. versat § 1. Other readings in this quotation are non enim of the Mss. changed to noenum by Lachmann, and postque magisque, the Ms. reading, altered to plusque by Bernays, accepted by Reid, and to priusque by Berrak.

accepted by Sommerbrodt.

§ 11. 1. 6 Tarentum: the recovery of Tarentum in B.C. 209 by Fabius in his fifth consulship was of great importance to the Romans, as it recalled the Samnites and Lucanians to their allegiance to Rome. The citadel had never fallen into Hannibal's hands, but was held from 212 to 209 by Marcus Livius, who frequently fought with the enemy from it with considerable glory. The same reply of Fabius is recorded by Cicero in the De Or. 2, 67, and by Livy 27, 25. According to Polybius (8, 27-33), the treason which admitted Hannibal into Tarentum was successful partly from the fact that M. Livius was sunk in sleep after a long debauch in the previous afternoon; and it was debated afterwards in the Senate whether he deserved punishment for losing the town or reward for holding the citadel so long. There seems to be some confusion about his name. Polybius calls him Gaius Livius, Livy always Marcus Livius, without any cognomen; but in 27, 34, 7 he speaks of a Marcus Livius Macatus, as the Roman commander who held the citadel of Tarentum when Hannibal obtained the city by treachery. It seems that Cicero has found in various accounts this name, M. Livius, without the cognomen, and erroneously determined that it was M. Livius Salinator. This man, obtaining his name from the salt tax of 204, was the father of the Salinator of § 7, 1. 2. He was consul in 219, and after being in exile for misappropriation of public funds became consul again in 207, defeated and killed Hasdrubal at the battle of the Metaurus.

7 cum quidem: see note § 10.

9 Meā operā, etc.; formed part of the debate in the Senate as to the propriety of censuring the man who, though holding the citadel, lost the city.

12 in togā: in civil life.

consul iterum: B.C. 228. So other numeral adverbs after titles; cf., in inscriptions, COS·II. Fabius was consul for the second time in 228, while the tribuneship of Flaminius, during which the law was passed, dates in 232 (Polybius 2, 22), when M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul.

Sp. Carvilio: Spurius Carvilius Maximus, consul in B.C. 234

and 228.

13 quiescente: remaining neutral.

C. Flāminiō tribūnō plēbis: There is evidently an inconsistency in these statements. Fabius was consul for the second time in 228, while Flaminius was tribune, and the law was passed in 232. Cicero has either been confused by the names of both Fabius and Carvilius containing the cognomen Maximus and by the complication in the dates shown thus:

or Flaminius was a commissioner for the execution of his own law and continued as such over the time of Fabius' second consulship in 228.

Flaminius was consul in 220 and in 217. In the latter year he was slain at Lake Trasumenus; cf. Cic. Brut. 14, 57.

14 Picentem et Gallicum: The proposal was to divide among the plebeians the territory of Picenum, and a portion of Umbria from which the Galli Senones had just been ejected. The object was not only to provide for indigent citizens but to fill the northern districts of Italy with Roman coloni, who would withstand the inroads of the Gauls. For the same purpose, in the period which followed, regular colonies were led out to Cremona, Placentia, and Mutina.

15 contrā Senātūs auctōritātem: This means against the declared wish of the Senate, but literally 'in spite of the

opposition of the Senate's authority.' Auctoritas senatus had come to have the technical meaning of 'a resolution of the Senate,' which from the veto of the tribunes or some other cause was prevented from assuming the form of a regular senatus consultum. These auctoritates were often formerly reduced to writing with the names of the interposing tribunes, and remained as expressions of the wishes of the Senate. These distributions of land among the plebeians were always resisted by the senatorial party and the patricians generally, as interfering with their privileges, and as tending to make an independent middle class. In this particular instance Polybius asserts that it brought on a war with the Boian Gauls, who feared that their own territory would be treated next in the same way.

dividenti: when he attempted to divide; cf. lenientem § 54.

16 cum esset: though he was.

ausus est: he ventured to make a remark which would have sounded shocking to believers in the science of the augurs; and no doubt there were some such, though hardly among the augurs themselves. Cato is said to have wondered how 'one haruspex could meet another without smiling.' Cic. De Div. 2, 24, 51. The augurship was a valuable political position, as the validity of elections was often decided by the College of Augurs. This consisted in Cato's time of nine members, afterwards of sixteen. According to Livy 30, 26, 7, Fabius was augur sixty-two vears.

18 ferrentur: from legem ad populum ferre, which was the technical expression for proposing a law.

§ 12. 1. 20 admīrābilius: more astonishing.

 $qu\bar{o} \mod \bar{o} := eum \mod um \quad quo \quad tulit.$ Here the $modum \quad fol$ lowing quam obtains its construction from the nihil which is the object of cognovi.

21 fīlī: Quintus Fabius Maximus, consul in B.C. 213, bore the same name as his father, whom in his fourth consulship he succeeded.

consularis: see above, § 7.

Est in manibus: idiomatic expression = is widely read. Note the different significations in the other uses of this phrase, §§ 22, 38.

22 laudātio: (sc. funebris) the 'funeral oration' was spoken generally by some near relation or friend of the deceased. It NOTES. 81

was a very ancient custom. Plutarch says that Poplicola delivered the laudatio funebris over Brutus (Popl. 9). See Pro Mil. § 33. These laudationes were used as a source of history, and were naturally often deceptive. Cf. Brut. 16, 62 his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Livy, 8, 40.

 $quam := et \ eam.$

philosophum contemnimus: the language of one who was actually suffering grief was more impressive than the theories of philosophers set forth in such a work as Crantor's $\pi\epsilon\rho l$ $\pi\epsilon\nu l$ $\pi\epsilon\nu l$ which, however, Cicero himself used in writing De Consolatione after his daughter's death.

24 in oculis civium: i.e. in the plain sight of his fellow-

citizens, not in the sense in the opinion of.

25 Quī sermō, etc.: sc. erat and erant, in these exclamatory sentences.

quae praecepta: what powers of imparting instruction.

2 ut in homine Rōmānō: for a Roman, considering what was to be expected in a Roman.

litterae: means Greek literature and philosophy, which were only just beginning to be known at all commonly in Rome in Cato's time.

3 domestica . . . externa bella: the military history of his own country as opposed to the military history of other nations. Externa bella does not mean here Rome's foreign wars.

4 ita: modifying the entire sentence and meaning with this spirit or in this way, and fully explained by the quasi—neminem; ita and sic often look forward to clauses beginning with quasi, si, ut, cum.

5 quasi iam dīvīnārem : as though I already had an instinc-

tive feeling.

illō exstinctō: Fabius died in 203. 6 unde: pronominal use = a quo.

CHAPTER V.

§ 13. 1.7 Quorsus: to what end.

tam multa: sc. dixi; for list of similar ellipses, see § 3. 9 Nec: et non.

10 Scīpionēs aut Māximī: the generalizing plural, such men as Scipio and Maximus. Cf. the singular with this force, § 28.

13 pure: uprightness in moral matters.

eleganter: a refined and fastidious way of living.

et . . . atque: et connects quiete and the expression pure atque eleganter. Reid represents thus: $A + (B_1 + B_2)$, the + outside = et, the + inside = ac, or atque before vowels, gutturals or b.

14 qualem: sc. fuisse senectutem.

Platonis: Plato was born at Athens B.C. 429 or 428. He became at twenty a frequent companion of Socrates. On the death of Socrates he travelled to Italy, Cyrene, Egypt, and Sicily. On his return to Athens he drew about him a body of hearers in the Academy, a gymnasium outside of Athens, and afterwards in a garden close by, inherited from his father. Hence this school is called the Academy, and its members Academics. He died at Athens in 347, some say while writing, others, while at a marriage feast.

16 Isocratis: Isocrates was born B.C. 436 in Attica. He became a pupil of Gorgias and other sophists, and a friend of Socrates, for whom he had the courage to wear mourning. He taught rhetoric and oratory at Chios, and later in Athens. His works, mostly in form of speeches, are political tracts or mere literary essays. The *Panathenaicus* mentioned here was a defence of the policy of Athens, written for the great Panathenaic festival. It is said that on hearing of the battle of Chaeronea and the triumph of Philip of Macedon, he threw himself from the wall and perished, in 338.

17 quārtō et nōnāgēsimō: so Lahmeyer and an inferior Ms. In compound numbers from twenty to one hundred, the smaller number precedes the larger with an et or follows without et.

18 vixitque: and yet he lived. The que is adversative in

force; cf. the more common use of et for et tamen.

19 Leontinus Gorgiās: Gorgias of Leontini. He was born at Leontini in Sicily about B.C. 485. He was a sophist, that is, a professional teacher, and his special subject was Rhetoric. Isocrates was his pupil. Cicero says that he was the first to invent and employ the science of harmonious or balanced sentences in oratory (numeros oratorios) (Or. 52, 174), also that he was most ready to speak on any subject under discussion

83 NOTES.

(De Fin. II. 1). According to Cicero he lived to be 107 years old. Others name 377 and again 380 as the date of his death. Note the position of the adjective, and compare Thessalo Cinea § 43, and doctus Hesiodus, § 54.

1 in suo studio atque opere: in his study and profession,

i.e. that of a sophist or professed teacher of philosophy.

2 cessavit: ceased working: cessare = to be idle.

Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur: we might have looked for a quo cum quaereretur. The inquit is the historical present, hence the past tense quaereretur.

3 esse in vitā: to remain so long in life; this form is used in preference to vivere, to emphasize the idea of continuing one's life rather than resorting to suicide, which was regarded as justifiable under certain circumstances.

- 5 docto homine: here a philosopher; the epithet is also used of poets. Reid remarks that 'the word doctus implies cultivation as well as mere knowledge, for "a learned man," merely as such, is homo litteratus.'
- § 14. 1. 7 cūius modo mentionem fēcī: expressing our 'mentioned above or before; ante dictus or supra dictus belong to later Latin: cf. § 23.
- 9 Sīcut—: these lines are also from the Annales of Ennius. (Vahlen, 445.)
- equus: Reid prefers ecus, 'because Ennius did not write uu, nor most likely did Cicero.' Ennius may have written ecus or equos or equs. Vahlen prefers the last. (See Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 300, and Brambach, Hülfsbüchlein für lat. Rechtschreibung.)

spatio - supremo: at the end of the race, or near the end

of the race, as on the last stretch.

10 Vicit Olympia: a neuter plural substantive, 'the Olympic games.' The accusative is due to the Greek phrase νικαν 'Ολύμπια = 'to win an Olympic victory.' It may be explained as a cognate accusative. Here also Reid follows what Ennius wrote, i.e. Olumpia, as y was not used until Cicero's day.

confectus quiescit: cf. plenus fidei, note p. 66. The elision of the final s of words ending in -is and -us was common in the early poets; and Lucretius often availed himself of the license (see Munro on 1, 186); but in the time of Cicero it was considered somewhat unscholarly (subrusticum), though Catullus once (116, 8) does it and in the fragments of Cicero's own poems it occurs; but the new school of poets (novi poetae), he says, avoided it. Or. 161. (See also Wordsworth, Fragments of Early Latin, p. 583.) The question remains as to whether the s was or was not left out in writing. Cicero says ita enim loquebamur, etc., and the phrase admits of the interpretation that though the s was dropped in pronunciation it was retained in writing. In Lucretius 'the Mss. all with one doubtful exception write the s' (Munro). But I think the testimony of inscriptions is more in favour of dropping than of retaining it. (See Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 123.)

13 hī consules: the consuls of the present year, i.e. B.C. 150,

when the dialogue is represented as having taken place.

T. Flāminīnus: generally regarded as the son of the Flamininus mentioned in I. 1.

15 Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus: B.C. 169. Ch. Servilius Caepio. (Livy, 43, 15.) The *iterum* applies to Q. Marcius Philippus, who was consul for the first time in 186. (Livy, 44. 1-17, 37-44.) He joined his colleague in punishing the excesses at the Bacchanalian festival, and was a commander against Perseus of Macedon in 169.

17 legem Voconiam: by the provisions of this law proposed by the tribune Q. Voconius Saxa B.C. 169, (1) no one, rated in the censors' lists at 100,000 sesterces or more, could make a woman his heir; (2) no one could give by will legacies amounting to more than the sum received by the heir or heirs. The principal object of this law was the retention of the estate in the family of the testator. (See Smith's Dict. Antiq. vol. II. s. v. Voc. Lex.)

māgnā võce et bonīs lateribus: with a loud voice and strong lungs.

§ 15. l. 1 Etenim: and indeed, generally introducing either explanation or proof, here marking the beginning of the actual discussion. The thought is, 'Ennius seemed to take delight in old age, and indeed this can be explained, for of the four reasons for believing old age wretched none will stand consideration.'

cum complector: supply causas as the object.

3 avocet: senes is the object. The subjunctive shows that the reason is not the speaker's, but belongs to those who complain of old age.

NOTES. 85

ā rēbus gerendīs: from active business life.

4 înfirmius: i.e. quam antea erat.

6 sī placet: a phrase of courtesy; cf. § 6 nisi molestum est.

CHAPTER VI.

 $8\ \bar{\mathbf{A}}\ \mathbf{rebus}\dots\mathbf{abstrahit}$: this is the statement of the first reason to be discussed.

quibus: the preposition is generally omitted when a relative follows, in the same case as the antecedent; also in questions.

9 An eis: the previous question, implied from quibus? is omnibusne—'from what duties, from all or only from those'...

quae: i.e. tales ut. The subjunctive and relative mark limitation.

1 infirmis corporibus: ablative absolute with concessive force.

3 L. Paulus: L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul B.C. 182 and 168. In the year 168 he defeated Perseus, king of Macedonia at Pydna. He was the father of Scipio Africanus Minor. He died in 160.

pater tuus: i.e. Scipio. The naming of Paulus obviates the necessity of the name Scipio.

4 fīlī: M. Porcius Cato, who married Aemilia, daughter of Paulus.

Fabricii, Curii, Coruncānii: such men as Fabricius, Curius, Coruncanius. See note § 13. Gaius Fabricius Luscinus was consul in p.c. 282 and 278. In 280 he was sent to Tarentum on a mission to Pyrrhus for exchange of prisoners; where the King vainly sought to corrupt him with bribes or terrify him with the sight of his elephants. In 279 he was a legatus serving in the army which Pyrrhus defeated at such a ruinous cost at Asculum; and next year (278), being consul, he subdued all southern Italy while Pyrrhus was in Sicily. Like Curius he was regarded as a type of the old-fashioned frugal Roman, living on the cultivation of his farm when not engaged in the service of the state. His action, in sending back to Pyrrhus the traitor who had offered to poison the King, is often quoted as a signal instance of Roman honour. — Manius Curius

Dentatus, consul in B.C. 290, 275, and 274. In his first consulship he obtained a triumph for victories over the Samnites and Sabines; in his third he conquered Pyrrhus at the battle of Beneventum, for which he seems to have celebrated another triumph (Pro Mur. § 31). He is often mentioned by Cicero as a friend of Coruncanius and Fabricius, and by Horace in conjunction with Fabricius as a type of the old-fashioned frugal Roman - incomptis Curium capillis, C. 1, 12, 41. After his victory over Pyrrhus he returned to his farm and lived a retired life, though he was censor in 272. His saving that he 'preferred ruling over the wealthy to possessing wealth himself' is often quoted; cf. § 55. - Tiberius Coruncanius, a jurist, was consul in 280. His chief fame rests on his profound knowledge of law, which he publicly taught, and for his skill in which he received like other jurists the title of Sapiens. In 254 he was created pontifex maximus, and died a few years afterwards. He is often referred to by Cicero as an authority on jurisprudence. e.g. De Or. 3, 33.

5 cum defendebant: at the time that they were defending;

cum with the indicative is purely temporal.

§ 16. 1. 7 Appī Claudī: Appius Claudius Caecus, obtaining cognomen from the fact of his being blind, was consul B.C. 307 and 296. He made himself famous by the memorable works which he superintended in his censorship of 312. of these was the via Appia leading from Rome to Capua, afterwards extended to Brundisium. The second was the aqua Appia, the first aqueduct constructed to supply Rome with water. Appius retained his censorship beyond the eighteen months named by the lex Aemilia, and until he was elected consul, so that being in a high office for five continuous years he was able to complete the public works he had planned. In his second consulship he fought against the Etruscans, and in 295 as praetor against the Samnites and Etruscans, but with indifferent success. When Pyrrhus, after defeating Laevinus in 280 at Heraclea, sent proposals to Rome for peace, Appius caused himself to be carried into the senate-house and spoke so eloquently against it that he prevented the Senate from accepting the offer. (Livy, Ep. xiii.) The speech was extant in Cicero's time (Brut. 6, 61), as is stated in the text. Cicero says in his Tusculan Disputations, 5, 38, 112, that the misfortune of Appius NOTES. 87

did not prevent his performing his duties as a public official. In this place his kindness is regarded as the result of old age, but Livy 9, 29, 11, gives the popular superstition of its being a divine visitation upon him for the sacrilege of initiating certain slaves in the worship of Hercules, instead of leaving this to the old family of the Potitii.

9 cum Pyrrho: for position see note, § 1.

non dubitavit: he did not hesitate.

10 persecutus est: has well expressed; there seems a notion of completeness intended by the per.

12 Quō vōbīs - viāi: from the sixth book of the Annales.

vobis: the dative of reference.

rēctae stāre: to stand upright, to be in a sound state; again a Graecism, cf. Soph. O. R. 528 έξ δρθη̂s φρενός, and Eur. Med. 1129 φρονεῖν δρθά.

13 Antehāc: always a dissyllable.

quō-viāi: to what point in the course, i.e. how far from the right course, cf. Aesch. P.V.903 ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης πνεύματι μάργφ. The form -ai in the genitive of the first declension is found in writers of the earliest times to Lucretius and Vergil, though it was no doubt used by the latter as an archaism. (Lindsay, $Latin\ Language$, p. 381.)

dēmentis: I have followed Vahlen in reading dementis as accusative agreeing with sese. Others regard it as nominative dementes, interpreting as, your senses losing their sense. Note

the oxymoron, the intentional contradiction.

14 gravissime: in the most impressive manner.

15 et tamen: the force of tamen seems to be, 'The poem is well known and so I quote it; and yet the speech itself is extant and I might have quoted that.'

17 cum: although.

18 censor . . . ante consulatum: it was unusual for a man to be censor until he had been consul. Appius was thus excep-

tionally honored.

19 grandem sānē fuisse: surely old. As he would not have been consul in all probability until he was forty he must have been at least sixty-seven at the time named, but as he had been censor five years before his consulship, he was more probably seventy or even older at the outbreak of the war with Pyrrhus in 280.

20 sic: i.e. eum grandem fuisse. 'We know it from history without this calculation.'

§ 17. 1. 20 Nihil - adferunt: they adduce nothing.

21 quī in rē . . . negant: who say that old age has no part in the activities of life.

1 similēsque sunt ut sī: an unusual collocation expressing the imagined simile. They who say old age is inactive are like persons who may be imagined as saying the pilot does nothing.

2 cum: causal, since.

5 non faciat...iuvenes. At vero...facit: All Mss. have faciat...faciat save one, which has facit in last clause. Editors generally read facit...facit. Reid prefers faciat...facit, because the reply ought to begin with the emphatic at vero.

6 vēlocitāte: physical activity. Some read velocitatibus, which is possible, though its parallel celeritate appears to indicate the singular as the correct reading.

vēlocitāte...celeritāte: 'These words differ very slightly; the former means speed of movement in one line, the latter rather power of rapid motion with frequent change of direction.' (Reid.)

8 sententiā: expression of opinion, with a special reference to speaking in the Senate.

quibus...orbārī...augērī: The regular construction after orbūri is the ablative of the thing taken away; and the ablative is used also commonly in a converse sense with augeri; cf. Ov., F. 3, 601 iam pius Aeneas regno nataque Latini auctus erat; and the comic oxymoron auctus damno, Ter. Heaut. 628.

9 quibus augeri solet: which it is wont to have added to it, 'to have in an increased degree.'

§ 18. 1.9 nisi forte: introduces a proposition which the speaker regards as absurd or impossible. Cf. Laelius de Amicitia, § 32.

10 mīles et tribūnus et lēgātus: as a private soldier, military tribune, and lieutenant-general. The tribuni, of whom there were six in each legion, were the highest officers in it: they must have served ten years, and after B.C. 311 were generally elected in the Comitia Tributa, though the commander of the army still had the nomination of some. The legati were nomi-

nated with consent of the Senate by the governor of a province; their number differed according to the circumstances of the case. Caesar as governor of Gaul and Illyricum had twelve. They were staff officers, and commanded such parts of the army as the *imperator* directed,—often a single legion. The number originally was two, because two legions were the normal strength of a consular army. For Cato's later service as *tribunus militum* see below, p. 111.

11 genere: English, in different kinds.

12 at: nisi forte assumes the converse of the proposition it introduces; therefore at follows as though the previous sentence had run: 'Though I no longer serve in the army, I am not idle; but in the Senate,' etc.

- 13 Karthāginī . . . dēnūntiō : I am urging a war against Carthage to anticipate the war she has long been treacherously meditating. Cato is supposed to be speaking in B.C. 150 (see § 14), and in the earlier part of that year he had been to Carthage as one of ten commissioners sent to investigate the truth of the rumors that she was preparing for war. It was after this that the scene of his producing the green figs in the senate-house occurred, and that it became his custom, whenever called upon for his sententia on any subject, to end his speech with censeo delendam esse Karthaginem. This celebrated phrase is found in Florus 2, 15.
- § 19. l. 16 Quam palmam, etc.: Cato of course is made to express in a prophetic wish what had actually happened. The supposed dialogue dates 150; the time of the writing of the Cato Maior was 44.
- 18 avī reliquiās: what your grandfather (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior) left still remaining of Carthage, or what he left unfinished of his task, which was the destruction of Carthage, i.e. after the battle of Zama in B.C. 202. avi is the subjective genitive; cf. reliquias Danaum, 'those whom the Greeks have left' (Verg. Aen. 1, 30).

tertius...tricēsimus: the Mss. have tertius, which makes Scipio's death date in 183, which agrees with Livy's account (39, 50, 10), but anno ante censorem = 185, and novem annis post...consulatum = 185, hence some read sextus or quintus.

22 iterum: with consul creatus esset. He was elected consul for the second time in 195 and served during the year 194.

24 paenitēret: observe the imperfect tense, expressing a state of mind lasting some time, not a single thought, would he have been feeling discontented with his old age? For this sense of paenitet, 'dissatisfaction' rather than 'repentance,' cf. De Off. 1, 1, 2, quantum proficias te poenitebit. Livy, 5, 19, paenitere magistratuum senatum apparebat; cf. Ter. Heaut. 1, 1, 20; Cic. Acad. 2, 22, 69; Livy, 22, 12.

enim: the enim indicates that 'no' was the answer to the

question and introduces the reason for such an answer.

excursione: rapid marching, as of light armed troops. (See De Div. 2, 26.) (Gernh.) Saltu also seems to have a warlike reference, such as 'springing' upon an enemy in a single combat; cf. the boxing match in Verg. Aen. 5, 442 variis adsultibus irritus urget.

1 consilio . . . sententia: cf. § 17, note consilium in the following sentence in different sense.

quae: neuter, as the antecedents are of different genders and do not denote living creatures.

3 senātum: an assembly of old men; cf. § 56. senatores, id est senes, § 20.

§ 20. 1. 4 quī amplissimum magistrātum gerunt: i.e. the twenty-eight members of the Gerusia or Senate ($\gamma\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu\sigma\iota\alpha$, $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$), all over sixty years of age.

6 externa: the history of foreign nations, the opposite of

domestica, § 12, and nostra, § 82. (Reid.)

9 cedo . . . cito: the line is tetrameter iambic acatalectic. The substitution of a spondee is allowable in any foot except the last, as in the senarius.

· · · /, _ _, _ /, · _ || _ /, _ _, _ /, · _.

cedo: pray tell me; an old imperative form equivalent to da or dic. The plural is cette (cedite). It is generally assumed that ce is the same as the enclitic found in pronominal words (hi-cz) hic, and that do represents da- of the root do, hence the sense is give here. (Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 518.) Do is often used for dico as accipio for audio.

quī: how.

tantam: of such greatness as it was (τοσαύτην οὖσαν).

10 percontantur in: a Leyden Ms. of the tenth century

inserts an ut before in, which may be due to dittography from final -ur. Mommsen suggests percontantibus . . . respondentur,

removing the stop after Ludo.

Naevi: Gnaeus Naevius, a native of Campania. He began exhibiting plays in B.C. 235, both tragedies, chiefly translated from Euripides, and comedies. He also wrote satires or epigrams against leading men of the day, especially the Metelli. Of these one well-known line is preserved,

fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules,

to which Metellus answered,

et Naevio poetae dabunt malum Metelli, cum saepe laederentur, dabunt malum Metelli.

He served in the army during the First Punic War; but his satires on the aristocratic party involved him in trouble, and he was thrown into prison. When released by the interposition of a tribune, he retired to Utica, where he died in 203; though Cicero (Brut. §50) says that Varro thought that he lived longer. His epic poem on the First Punic War is mentioned by Cicero again in Brutus, §75, where he compares it to a carved work of Myron, and says that it is luculente scriptum, though less polite than the work of Ennius.

Lūdō: the name of some play otherwise unknown. Some hold that it is a general name for a play (Latin *ludus*), but the word is not cited in Harper's *Lexicon* in the singular in this sense, for which the regular term is *fabula*. Ribbeck supposes this Ludus to have been a satire or satiric drama.

12 **Proveniebant...adulescentuli**: also iambic tetrameter acatalectic. Note the dactyl, the equivalent of a spondee, in the first and sixth feet. (G. and L. 758 n., 761 n., 1.)

Proveniebant: Lahmeyer interprets as "a crop of orators were springing up," comparing Pliny, Ep. 1, 13, 1, magnum proventum ('crop') poetarum annus hic attulit, also Sall. Cat. 8, 3, provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia.

13 videlicet: we may conclude.

CHAPTER VII.

§21. l. 15 At: But it may be said, like at enim introducing a supposed objection for the sake of refuting it. See Vocabulary. Cicero (Ad Att. 12, 1), acknowledges that it is very like an old man ($\gamma \epsilon \rho o \nu \tau \iota \kappa \acute{\omega} \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$), to forget trifles—memoriola vacillare.

Credo: undoubtedly or of course, to be sure; cf. § 47.

16 nātūrā tardior: more dull than usual.

Themistocles: the famous Athenian statesman and general to whose instrumentality the victory of Salamis (B.C. 480) was mainly due. He was the son of Neocles, and was born about the year 525. After the Persian war, in 471, he was ostracized, and retired to Argos. Becoming involved in a charge of Medism, he fled to the Persian court, where he was well received. He promised the king to assist him in future attacks upon the Greeks. But being called upon to fulfil his promise (in or about the year B.C. 460), and feeling unable or unwilling to do so, he committed suicide in Magnesia, though some have said that he died a natural death. Thucydides (1, 138), who believed in the latter account of his death, describes him as a man of the most wonderful natural ability. (See Plutarch's Life of Themistocles.)

1 perceperat: had mastered, implying some mental effort; cf. Caes. B. G. 5, 1, percepta oratione 'having thoroughly grasped the meaning of their speech.' The number of Athenian citizens at the time of Themistocles is not certain; but it has been reckoned as about 20,000 at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, and if it were only half that number in the lifetime of Themistocles, it would have been no inconsiderable feat to have known their names. For the popularity he gained by it see Plut. Them. 5, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε . . . ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος: cf. Pro Mur. 77, where Cicero is speaking of the habit of keeping a 'nomenclator,' si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi. Cicero often recurs to the remarkable memory of Themistocles (see De Or. 2, 351; De Fin. 2, 104).

2 qui Aristides . . . solitum: that he used to address Aristides as Lysimachus by mistake. To prevent ambiguity, qui

NOTES. 93

esset, Aristides takes the place of one of the accusatives which would naturally follow the verb of naming, salutare.

Aristīdes: Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, acquired by his honorable and trustworthy character the title of the Just. He was one of the commanders of the Athenian squadron at the battle of Salamis, and assisted Themistocles in preventing the Greek fleet from retreating southward and leaving the Persians in possession of Attica. It was the confidence which the allies placed in his character that induced them to put the Athenians at the head of the league called the 'Confederacy of Delos' (B.C. 478), when the insolence and treachery of the Spartan Pausanias made them discontented with the Spartan supremacy. Just before the Persian invasion he had been ostracized at the instigation of Themistocles, but in their terror of the Persians the Athenians recalled him, and he appears to have lived to a considerable age in high repute, though in poor circum-In Plutarch's time his tomb was still shown at Phalerum. (Life by Plutarch. Herod. bks. vi-vii.)

3 Equidem: for my part; a form of quidem strengthened by the interjection e; cf. nam and enim. This word is usually found with the first person singular, and, unlike quidem, may

stand first in its sentence.

Lysimachum: father of Aristides.

4 sunt: equivalent to vivunt; cf. § 32; esse = vivere; § 54, fuit = vixit.

5 sepulcra: nor am I afraid that by reading the inscriptions on tombstones I shall lose my memory, as the saying is. Cato says he knew not only the names of his contemporaries, but of their ancestors. These he would often learn by reading the inscriptions on their tombs, probably for the purpose of composing his Origines, and this reminds him of a common saying or superstition that reading tombstones hurts the memory. It is not possible to trace the origin of such an idea, which Erasmus (quoted by G. Long) says was a common one. It may perhaps be connected with the early prejudice against writing, as harmful to the faculty of memory, from causing it to be less used. Plato (Phaedr. 274-5) refers to this, and Caesar (B. G. 6, 14) states that the same prejudice existed among the Druids; and Plutarch (Numa, 22) that the same doctrine was taught by the Pythagoreans. That such philosophical doctrines should filter into

popular talk is not uncommon. Inscriptions on tombstones would be probably the earliest form of writing known to the vulgar. We might compare it with the popular idea that to meet a wolf caused dumbness, see Verg. Ecl. ix. 54; Theocr. 14, 152. Cicero seems to allude to some similar proverb in De Fin. 5, § 3, veteris proverbi admonitu vivorum memini. Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer, p. 218, believes that these words have no reference to a proverb, but to a superstitious idea that reading the monuments of the past leads one to disregard the present.

quod āiunt: as the saying goes; cf. ut dicitur, § 49.

6 in memoriam redeo mortuorum: I get a kind of second memory, that namely of the dead. So far from losing memory by reading sepulchral inscriptions, I refresh it. The expression is a curious inversion of the commoner 'recall to memory'; it speaks of memory as something outside oneself to which one returns. Long quotes Verr. 2, 46, redite in memoriam, indices, quae istius libido in dicendo fuerit. Cf. Ter. Phorm. 802.

7 nec vērō: introducing a general conclusion, nor in point of fact.

8 senem: here equal to cum senex esset, because he was an old man.

thēsaurum $(\theta \epsilon$ -, $\tau \ell \theta \eta \mu \iota)$: a buried treasure, where he had hid his money.

9 quae curant: the things that interest them.

vadimonia constituta: appointments at court. The regular phrase is vadimonium promittere. Constituere is used as applicable to both plaintiff and defendant. (Reid.) The plural vadimonia is employed as usual when speaking generally and not of Vadimonium is properly the engagement a particular case. entered into by a defendant in a civil suit, after the preliminary hearing of the case, to appear on a fixed day to answer to the action. As security for this appearance he either paid a sum of money into court or brought forward securities (vades) for his appearance. This 'appointment' was called vadimonium, and hence there are numerous phrases which mean to keep or break it, e.g. v. sistere, v. obire, ad v. venire, v. deserere, ad v. non venire. It was the necessity of the bore's appearing to answer to his bail that relieved Horace from his tormentor on the Via Sacra (Sat. i. 9, 36-75).

10 quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant: who owes them money and to whom they owe it, unlike the old man in the Clouds of Aristophanes who had a long memory for his debtors and a short one for his creditors

ην μὲν γὰρ ὀφείληταί τί μοι, μνήμων πάνυ · ἐὰν δ' ὀφείλω, σχέτλιος, ἐπιλήσμων πάνυ. (484–5.)

§ 22. 1. 10 Quid: introducing a new point, again how many things do lawyers, pontiffs, augurs, and philosophers in their old age remember? Reid supplies tibi videntur, and places an interrogation mark after senes, then what do you think of old

men as lawyers?

11 iūris consultī: Cicero thus defines a iuris consultus (De Orat. 1, 212), qui legum et consuetudinis eius, qua privati utuntur, et ad respondendum et ad agendum et ad cavendum, peritus est. The compound word,—consultus = 'knowing,' 'skilled,' and the genitive iuris depending on it,—may be compared with consultus sapientiae Hor. C. 1, 34, 3. The pontifices and augures like the iuris consulti needed good memories for precedents and definitions, which were often handed down orally, and not committed to writing; though a number of formulae were published by Gnaeus Flavius in B.c. 300.

14 in claris et honoratis viris: in the case of men of reputation and high place, claris is opposed to quieta, honoratis to

privata by chiasmus,

 $\frac{claris}{privata} \times \frac{honoratis}{quieta}$.

honorati, from the word honor office, means those who have held office.

15 in vītā prīvātā et quiētā: in the case of a life of leisure and retirement; it is equivalent to in vita eorum qui quieti et privati sunt. The quietus is one who abstains from the bustle and excitement of any active career, the privatus one who holds no official position.

Sophocles: Sophocles, son of Sophillus, was born about B.C. 496, at Colonus, a deme of Attica. He seems to have been early trained in music, and from the beauty of his person, as well as his skill, was chosen to lead the dance in honor of the victory of Salamis. In 468 he exhibited his first tragedy, defeat-

ing Aeschylus. He lived to the age of ninety, dying in 405. Between 468 and 406, he won twenty victories with his tragedies. He also held certain military and civic offices, being a Strategus in 445, and one of the Hellenotamiae in 443. He is said to have written seventy tragedies, eighteen satyric dramas, besides elegies and paeans; but of these we only have seven tragedies remaining. His character seems to have been distinguished for mildness and amiability rather than strength; and Aristophanes (Pax, 698) declares that in his old age he became miserly.

16 quod propter studium cum: and when on account of this devotion to writing. This story is told of Sophocles in the Anonymous Life of him, and in Plutarch $\epsilon i \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \nu \tau \epsilon \rho \psi \pi \sigma \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \nu$ (c. 3). The part of the Oedipus Coloneus which he recited is said to have been the chorus (668) beginning, $\epsilon \nu i \pi \pi \sigma \nu$, $\xi \epsilon \nu \epsilon$,

τᾶσδε χώρας.

18 ā fīliīs: the story is generally told of the poet's oldest son Iophon alone.

quem ad modum solet: just as by our custom an injunction is wont to be issued against fathers who mismanage their affairs restraining them from the control of their property. Bonis is ablative, as in the phrase alicui interdici aqua et igni. Justinian i. tit. 23 says furiosi et prodigi, licet maiores xxv annis sint, tamen in curatione agnatorum sint ex lege xII tabularum. It is not certain whether it was confined to persons who had children.

22 eam fābulam: the play.

in manibus: had on hand, i.e. was still preparing it; cf. § 38, but in § 12 the expression est in manibus has a different meaning. The meaning, however, may be that Sophocles came prepared with the Ms. The use of recitasse certainly points to this.

proximē: lately, recently. The story of the attempt of Sophocles' sons to deprive him of his property does not seem to rest on good authority (Vita Anonyma and Valer. Max. viii.), and many critics do not believe that the Oedipus at Colonus was the work of his old age, but that it was only revised at that time. His sons seem to have been Iophon, by Nicostrata, and Ariston by Theoris. (See Mahaffy, Greek Lit. 1, p. 279 sq.)

23 Oedipum Coloneum: Oedipus, the son of Laius, being exposed as an infant in consequence of an oracle, was saved and reared. He unwittingly fulfilled the oracle, by killing his father in a fray and wedding his own mother. Finding out that he

NOTES. 97

had committed these horrible deeds, he blinded himself. He is here mentioned as the subject of a play of Sophocles. The name means 'Swell-foot,' from the thongs with which his infant feet were pierced or tied tightly when he was exposed.

2 liberātus: he was acquitted.

§ 23. 1. 3 There now follows a list of Greek poets and philosophers who were intellectually active even at an advanced age.

Hēsiodum: Hesiod, a native of Ascra in Boeotia. We have three works which pass under his name, The Works and Days, a poem on Agriculture, which Vergil regarded as his model for the Georgics; the Theogonia, a poem on the parentage of the Gods and the origin of the Universe; and the Shield of Hercules, a poem on the contest between Hercules and Ares. The genuineness of these poems, the question as to identity of authorship, and the period of Hesiod's own existence, have been the subjects of endless controversies.

4 Simonidem: Simonides, son of Leoprepes, born at Iulis in the island of Ceos—thus called $K\epsilon \hat{\iota}os$ as distinguished from the elder poet Simonides of Amorgos,—b. B.C. 556, ob. 469. He was intimate with Pausanias and Themistocles, and the Sicilian tyrants Theron and Hieron. His chief works, some of which are extant, were Epinikia, i.e. songs celebrating victories in the games, hymns, dithyrambs, threni or laments, and sepulchral inscriptions. Perhaps the most famous of the last was his epitaph for the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae [Her. 7, 228: Diod. Sic. 11, 3].

ώ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῆδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι,

which Cicero (Tusc. 1, 101) translated thus:

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes, Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur,

the last line being probably taken from the Greek as given in Diodorus,

κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

He died at Syracuse, where he was staying at the court of Hieron. A famous story of how his life was saved by the Tyndaridae, who summoned him from the house of Scopas which immediately afterwards fell down, is told by Cicero in De Oratore, 2, 352. See for an account of his writings, Mahaffy,

Greek Lit. vol. i. p. 206 sq.

4 Stesichorum: Stesichorus, of Himera, lived about B.C. 630-550, and died at Catana. His poems were lyrical, but upon the subjects of the epic poems of Greece, and written to be sung by a chorus to the accompaniment of music and dancing, in which we see the elements of the Greek drama. Cicero describes his statue at Thermae, whither it had been removed from Himera after the latter's destruction in 408-5. It represented

the poet stooping over a book (Verres, 2, 86).

6 Pythagoram: Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus. One of the most famous names in Greek philosophy. The dates assigned to his birth vary from B.C. 608 to 570. Numerous discoveries in arithmetic, geometry, music, and psychology were attributed to him. One of the most famous of the doctrines assigned to him is that of metempsychosis or the 'transmigration of souls.' About 529 Pythagoras settled in Crotona, where his followers formed a club or society, obeying various rules, some of them of an ascetic nature. Cicero says that he died at Metapontum, having first come to Italy in the reign of Superbus (De Fin. 5. 4); and that he was the first to describe himself as philosophus (Tusc. 5, 3, 8). He looks upon him as the founder and father of the Italian school of philosophy, that is of the schools of Magna Graecia (De Or. 3, 139). The date of his death is as uncertain as that of his birth; the most commonly received is 497, but it has been put by some as late as 472.

6 Dēmocritus: born about B.C. 460 at Abdēra in Thrace, son of Hegesistratus: died about 357. His works are lost, except such fragments as have been preserved by other writers. But among his doctrines was that of the formation of all things from 'atoms,' which Epicurus afterwards adopted with certain differences, and which Lucretius explained in his poem (see especially Lucr. 1, 685). He has usually been called the 'laughing philosopher' (γελασίνος) from his cheerful view of life, as contrasted with Heraclitus, who wept at the follies of mankind, -

> iamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter ridebat quotiens de limine moverat unum protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius auctor?

Juvenal 10, 28; cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 194.

NOTES. 99

7 Xenocratēn: Xenocrates of Chalcedon, born about B.C. 396, died about 314, came to Athens in his youth, and became a disciple first of Aeschines and then of Plato. Cicero (Ac. 1, 4, 17) classes him with Aristotle as the two most famous of Plato's pupils. He succeeded Plato's nephew Speusippus in the headship of the Academy. Of his works only fragments remain; but his ethical position may be illustrated by a saying quoted by Cicero (De Rep. 1, 2, 3). Being asked what good his disciples obtained from his teaching, he answered 'They get this,—that they do spontaneously what it takes laws to make other people do.'

Zēnonem: Zeno, son of Mnaseas, was born at Citium in Cyprus, about B.C. 350. He came to Athens in 320, and after studying under a number of philosophers, of the Cynic and other schools, he began to teach about 300. He delivered his lectures in the στοὰ ποικίλη, the painted colonnade, from which circumstance his followers took the name of Stoics. He died about 263-259. It is said that having received a slight injury he regarded it as a warning that it was time to be gone, and put an end to his own life. The distinctive doctrines of the Stoic philosophy according to the popular view were that virtue (not pleasure) was the summum bonum, and that virtue consisted in living in harmony with nature. Happiness was not an object to pursue, though it naturally resulted from virtue; it consisted in mental tranquillity, which could only be secured by the resolute reduction of all wishes to the minimum. Another doctrine much famed was that 'good' and 'bad' admit of no degrees, a thing is absolutely bad or good. Again, 'goodness' and 'wisdom' were identical, the only 'good' man therefore was the absolutely wise one.

Cleanthēn: a Stoic philosopher born at Assos in the Troad, about the year B.C. 300. He succeeded Zeno as head of the school in 264. Some of the peculiarities of his doctrine are discussed by Cicero in various parts of his philosophical writings. He held that the sun was lord of created things (Ac.2, 41, 126); that the mundus ($\kappa\delta\sigma\mu$ os) was God (De.N..D. 1, 14, 37); that the idea of God was impressed in men's minds by the phenomena of nature (De.N..D. 2, 5, 13-15). He lived to be over eighty years of age.

8 Diogenem Stoicum: Diogenes, the Stoic, so called to dis-

tinguish him from the Cynic, born at Seleucia on the Tigris, was a pupil of Chrysippus, and the instructor of the New-Academician Carneades. He was born B.C. 238, and died 150. His works are lost, but he is said to have written formal treatises on Dialectic, on the Voice, on Noble Birth, on Laws.

aut eum quem vīdistis Rōmae: this refers to the deputation of philosophers from Athens consisting of Carneades the founder of the new Academy, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic, which came to Rome in B.C. 155 to plead against the award of a large fine to Oropus made by the Sicyonians under the authority of the senate, as compensation for damages committed by the Athenians in a raid upon Oropus in the previous year. The Athenians in their then impoverished state could not pay the 500 talents imposed on them, and sent these philosophers to appeal to the Roman Senate. As Cato opposed these men, it is curious to find Cicero representing him here as admiring Diogenes.

10 studiorum agitātio: the active prosecution of their special

pursuits.

§ 24. l. 11 age: used in passing to a new subject. Cf. hoc age, attend to this, originally sacrificial, and the opposite aliud agere, not to give heed.

dīvīna studia: i.e. poetry and philosophy.

13 vicinos meos: those "country bred Roman citizens," living near Cato's house at Tusculum, round which the people were Sabines.

quibus absentibus . . . fīunt: who are always present at

the more important farming operations.

15 non percipiendis non condendis fructibus: neither in the gathering nor in the storing of crops. Fructus is the general word for all produce. Cf. § 70.

16 in aliis: proleptic; in other things except the planting of

trees. For neuter adj. used as noun, cf. ceteris, § 3.

18 idem: nom. plural.

19 omnīnō: under any circumstances.

20 Serit . . . prōsint. Ribbeck scans as a bacchic (∪ ∠ _) tetrameter:

The final syllable in serit is long by the ictus, not as in versāt,

§ 1, and $poneb\bar{a}t$, § 10. If the last foot is a bacchius, the o of sacclo is short by systole.

saeclo: generation.

21 Statius noster: Gaius Caecilius Statius was an Insubrian Gaul, probably brought like Terence as a captive in war to Rome. Like Terence too, being manumitted, he adopted a name probably from his master who set him free. According to Gellius (4, 20) his servile name was Statius, which he retained as a cognomen; just as Terence, being an African captive and being set free by Publius Terentius Lucanus, thenceforth was called Publius Terentius Afer, i.e. he adopted the nomen and praenomen of his patronus, and retained his slave designation as his cognomen. Some of the ancient critics thought Caecilius the best of the Roman comic writers (Aul. Gell. 15, 24. Sueton. Vit. Ter. 11). Cicero, in the treatise De Ont. Gen. Or. § 2, says that he was 'perhaps the best comic writer,' but in a letter to Atticus (7, 3, 10) observes that he was but a poor authority in regard to Latinity. The year of his death is not certain. Caecilius wrote fabulae palliatae, i.e. plays from the Greek, like Plantus, Terence and others. Numerous fragments of his plays survive, and may be read in Ribbeck's Fragmenta, pp. 29-69.

Synephēbis: 'The Comrades' or 'Fellow-Youths,' the title of a play of Caecilius Statius, based upon Menander's Συνέφηβοι, referred to in De Fin. 1, 2, 4 as an excellent specimen of Latin comedy. Menander (B.C. 342-291), from whom Statius borrowed.

was the chief poet of the New Comedy.

§ 25. 1.21 produce: to produce it for posterity as a trust committed to me for their benefit, not simply tradere, to hand it on.

CHAPTER VIII.

4 Caecilius: i.e. Caecilius Statius.

dē sene: i.e. in the passage last quoted "Serit... prosint." saeclō: dative after prospiciente in sense "consulting for."

5 quam illud: than this which follows.

idem: masc.; the poet (Statius) in this other passage, just as idem is often used where we would use a conjunction and pronoun in repeated mention of the same person. The lines are taken from the Plocium (The Necklace) a play of Statius,

6 **Edepol**: very truly, literally Ah! god Pollux, i.e. e-deus-Pollux, de being the representative of the vocative of deus. As an oath, Gellius (Noctes Atticae, 31, 6) says that it was used by men and women indifferently, whereas women never said hercle, or men mecastor.

nil quicquam: the quicquam repeats the substantive portion of nil; cf. adulescentulus miles, § 10.

 $vit\bar{i}$: from vitium = malum.

8 quod di $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$: diu must be pronounced as a monosyllable, or the scanning will be \bigcirc \bigcirc $_$, as Tischer.

videt: the subject is indefinite.

10 incurrit: dashes into, a metaphor from a chariot collision.

illud: the following.

11 vitiosius: more faultily, less correctly.

12 tum: *moreover*, evidently continuing some series of remarks on old age. These lines are from the *Ephesio* of Statius, and are also iambic senarii.

Cf. Callimachus (quoted by Stobaeus) γηράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφότερον | κοῦροι τὸν φιλέουσι: νέοι δέ μιν οῖα τοκῆα | χειρὸς ἐπ' οἰκείην ἄχρις ἄγουσι θύρην. Gernh.

13 eumpse: archaic for *ipsum*; it is subject of *sentire*, and refers to *senex* implied from *senecta*.

odiosum: unpleasant, annoying.

§ 26. l. 15 sapientes senes: the wise when they become old.

1 coluntur et diliguntur: see Vocabulary.

3 mē—iūcundōs: standing for the complete expression me iucundum esse quam vos mihi estis iucundi. For the infinitive esse (iucundos) see grammatical references. minus modifies iucundos.

4 sed: epanalepsis, but to return to the subject, after the digression Et melius.

vidētis ut: you see to what an extent. $ut = quo \mod o$; cf. § 31.

senectūs: here = senes as abstract for concrete, so cuiusque = senis.

6 agens aliquid et moliens: note that these particles with aliquid are parallel with operosa, and state a constant characteristic of senectus, and is always tending to the doing of something and the undertaking of something.

tale scilicet quale: just such a course as and none other than, no more nor less than. The point is that old age makes no difference proportionately; if a man was idle in youth, so he will be in old age; if active in youth, active in old age.

8 Quid: nay, is it not the case that some are always learning something new (ad): cf. vii. § 22.

et Solonem: this, equal to ut Solo fecit quem, is parallel to et ego feci; cf. γηράσκω δ' αίεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. Plutarch, Solon 9, cf. § 50 ad fin. Solon, born about B.C. 638, son of Execestides. He first came forward in Athenian politics in the contest between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis, in regard to which he was believed to have inserted a line in the Iliad (2,588) which speaks of Ajax of Salamis ranging his ships with those of Athens. His famous constitution is generally assigned to 594. When the laws were promulgated he left Athens, exacting an oath from the citizens that they would not change them until his return. He remained away for ten years. Some time after his return the constitution was in a measure overthrown by the usurpation of Peisistratus (560). Solon is said to have lived only two years after this revolution which he tried to avert. He is always reckoned as one of the 'seven wise men' of Greece, and the remains of his poetry are of the sort called didactic or gnomic, giving rules for moral or political conduct in pithy verse.

11 litterās Graecās: Greek literature. Nepos (Cato 3) says that 'though old when he eagerly took up (adripuerat) Greek

literature, he made such an advance in it that it was not easy to find anything he didn't know in Greek or Italian history.' This does not appear to mean that Cato knew no Greek until he was old; but that he had made no acquaintance with Greek literature until then. Plutarch (Cato 12) tells a story of his visit to Athens, when serving in Greece under Manius Acilius Glabrio against Antiochus, 191, and of his refusing to address the people in Greek, and employing an interpreter, though he knew enough Greek to have spoken it if he had chosen. Cf. Quintilian, 12, 11, 23.

senex: when I was an old man.

sic: not with avide, but by itself = thus, corresponding with auasi cupiens = like one longing.

12 ut ea ipsa... quibus... ūtī vidētis: 'which explains my knowledge of the historical precedents which I have just been quoting.' I devoured Greek literature so eagerly, that those precedents were known to me, etc.

13 exemplis: = pro exemplis: as precedents, not an instance of incorporation.

14 Socrates: Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and Phaenarte, a midwife, was born at Athens about B.C. 468. He appears to have been brought up to follow his father's occupation, but afterwards to have left it and given himself to study by the help of Crito, a wealthy friend. He performed the various duties of Athenian citizenship; served with conspicuous courage at the siege of Potidaea (432-429), battle of Delium (424), Amphipolis (422). He was in the Senate (βουλή) for 406, and, his tribe happening to be Prytaneis at the time of condemnation of the six generals after the battle of Arginusae, he refused to break the law by putting to one vote the question for the condemnation of all of them. He spent the greater part of his life in philosophical discussion with all classes of men. The people who could not understand or appreciate him maligned and ridiculed him-cf. Aristophanes in the Cloudsand finally, in 399, this prejudice resulted in the accusations of Meletus, Anytus, and Lycon against him, (1) of despising the gods of the city, and of introducing new gods, (2) of corrupting the youth. He was condemned to death and perished by drinking hemlock.

in fidibus: with the lyre.

15 vellem: I should have liked.

discebant fidibus: sc. canere = to play on.

16 antiqui: the ancients, the men of the good old times.

certe: at least, i.e. as I could not learn the lyre.

CHAPTER IX.

§ 27. l. 1 Nē nunc quidem: neither at my time of life. Ne is the reading of most Mss., so Reid because ne quidem is needed as nec quidem in the required sense is impossible. Others read nec for the connection. 'I have at least, though too late for the lyre, devoted some pains to Greek literature. I am not too old for that. Such pursuits are satisfying, and I don't miss the vigor of youth.' This seems to be the train of thought leading up to the second point of his answer to the impugners of old age.

2. locus: topic or branch of the accusation, cf. locus est

argumenti sedes, Top. 8.

non plus quam: any more than.

4 quod est: what you have, sc. tibi.

5 pro viribus: in proportion to your strength, to the best of such strength as you possess.

vox: remark.

6 Milōnis: a celebrated athlete of Crotona, who flourished about B.C. 511. According to Pausanias (6, 14), he won prizes for wrestling six times at the Olympic games, one of which was as a boy, six times at the Pythian games as a man, once as a boy. The seventh time he came to the Olympic games to wrestle he was beaten by a fellow-townsman Timasitheus. Marvellous stories of his muscular strength are recounted by Pausanias, who also tells the tale of his death: 'He found a dry timber tree with wedges fixed in it; in order to show his strength he put his hands into the split, when the wedges slipped out, and, his hands being thus caught in a trap, he was devoured by wolves.' See Gellius, N. A. 15, 16.

7 in curriculo: in the arena; properly the chariot racing

course.

9 At: ah, well. This word is often used to begin an exclamation of surprise or emotion. An ellipsis is implied: 'I should like to wrestle once again, but—'

10 istī: sc. lacerti, your arms.

11 ex tē: te here has the force of mental ability and power, not merely of person.

12 Nihil tāle: sc. dixit.

Sex. Aelius: Sextus Aelius Paetus, surnamed Catus,—curule aedile B.c. 200; consul 198; censor 193,—an eminent jurist, who is said to have left a work containing the text of the laws of the XII. Tables, with a commentary. This work does not survive, and its exact nature is a matter of some doubt; but Cicero often speaks of him as a most learned jurist, and quotes (Tusc. 1, 9, 18) a line of Ennius concerning him,

Egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus,

and (De Or. 1, 56, 240) mentions his Commentarii de jure civili. His cognomen Catus was given him on the same principle as that on which Sapiens was often given as a title to jurists of eminence.

13 Püblius Licinius Crassus (Dives): pont. max. B.C. 211, consul 205 (colleague of Africanus). His reputation for legal knowledge caused him to be elected pontifex maximus, though he had held no curule office, -a thing that had happened only once for 120 years, - and in opposition to Fulvius Flaccus and Manlius Torquatus (Livy, 25, 5). Similarly he was censor in 210, though he had not been consul, a distinction which was less uncommon. He was praetor peregrinus in 208. After his year of office as consul, he was continued in command of two legions in Bruttium for another year (204), in the course of which he joined his forces with those of the consul Sempronius, who had just been worsted in a skirmish with Hannibal, and the two managed to defeat the Carthaginian in a battle somewhere near Croton, with considerable slaughter. Livy (30, 1) describes him as noble, rich, handsome, physically strong, and juris pontificii peritissimus. He died in 183 (Livy, 39, 46).

modo: as Crassus' death occurred 33 years before the represented date of this dialogue, modo has the force of nearer our own day as opposed to multis annis ante.

14 cīvibus praescrībēbantur: were set forth for the guidance of citizens.

15 prudentia: used in the technical sense in which it is

employed in the phrase iuris prudentia, "skill in the law," or jurisprudence.

§ 28. l. 16 Örātor: note the emphasis given to this subject

of the dependent clause by its position.

senectute: by reason of age.

1 laterum: lungs, § 9.

2 omnīnō—sed tamen: true—but yet. Concessive use of omnino. Cf. § 76.

canōrum . . . splendēscit: that musical ring. It seems to refer to the art of properly 'pitching' the voice so as to reach to a distance. In Brutus, 66, 234, he says of Lentulus that partly voce suavi et canora he concealed his want of oratorical ability. But sometimes he uses canora in an uncomplimentary sense of 'sing-song,' 'too highly pitched,' as in De Off. 1, 37, 133, of Catulus, sine contentione vox dulcis nec languens nec canora. Cf. Plaut. Poen. prol. 33, canora hic voce sua tinnire temperent. Note the mixture of metaphor occasioned by the use of splendescit.

4 et vidētis: the adversative use of et after_the negative, and yet you see my years. Cf. que in vixitque § 13; G. & L. 475, note 1.

5 sermō: style of speaking, a more general term than oratio. remissus: deliberate, without hurry or violence; cf. De Oratore, 1, 60, 254, where Roscius said that when he grew old he tardiores tibicinis modos et cantus remissiores facere.

8 Scīpioni et Laelio: a Scipio and a Laelius.

9 senectūte stīpātā studiīs iuventūtis: by the eager zeal of studious youth; senectute is abstract for concrete.

§ 29. 1. 10 illās vīrēs . . . ut doceat : sufficient vigor for

teaching, training, and fitting.

12 ad omne offici mūnus: for every task demanded by duty.

14 Cn. Scīpiō: Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, consul B.C. 222, brother of the Scipio next mentioned. In 218 he was serving as legatus to his brother, and was sent by him to Spain while Publius went to meet Hannibal in Italy. He appears to have remained in Spain continuously after that, and shared all the efforts of Publius.

P. Scīpiō: Publius Cornelius Scipio, father of Africanus. He was consul B.C. 218, the first year of the Second Punic War. He attempted to stop Hannibal's march in Gaul, but was outstripped

by him. He and his army came by sea to Genoa, met Hannibal at the Ticinus, and were defeated. He was again defeated by Hannibal at the Trebia, where he was forced by his colleague, against his own judgment, to give Hannibal battle. Meanwhile he had sent his brother Gnaeus to Spain to keep up the war against Hasdrubal. After his consulship his imperium was prolonged and Spain assigned to him as his sphere of work, (provincia); and to Spain he went early in 217, joining his brother near Tarraco, where the latter had wintered. There till towards the end of 212 the two brothers, acting in perfect accord, so conducted their charge as not only to break the Carthaginian interest in Spain, but also to win over the affections of many of the tribes in that country (Livy, 25, 36). Publius took the chief care of the fleet, Gnaeus of the land forces. Both brothers were defeated and slain by Hasdrubal in 212.

14 avī tuī duo: i.e. your real grandfather, Aemilius Paulus, and your grandfather by adoption, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

L. Aemilius: (1) Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the father of Macedonicus, who was the real father of Scipio Africanus Minor. He was consul for the first time in B.C. 219, and for the second time in 216, as colleague of C. Terentius Varro, in which year he fell at the battle of Cannae, brought on by the rashness of his colleague. In his first consulhip he commanded with his colleague, M. Livius Salinator, in an expedition against the Illyrians, for which he was allowed a triumph. The story of his death at Cannae, and of his refusal when wounded to accept from a military tribune a horse on which to escape, is told in Livy, 22, 49: to this circumstance Horace alludes in C. 1, 12, 37:

animaeque magnae prodigum Paulum superante Poeno.

15 P. Āfricānus: Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the son of Publius Cornelius Scipio. He served as tribunus militum in the battle of Ticinus, where he saved his father's life, and at Cannae. The energy and uprightness of his character seem to have developed early, and to have impressed his fellow-citizens in those days of disaster, for he was elected curule aedile when only 21, in 213. And when, two years later, the fall of his father and uncle in Spain made it imperative to send some

one that could be trusted there, he was sent with pro-consular authority to take the command (211), though he had not as vet been consul. This exceptional measure was justified by the result. He took New Carthage in a single day; and by 206 the Carthaginians were practically driven from Spain. He returned to Rome and was elected consul for 205, and had Sicily assigned as his 'Province.' Scipio early in 204 passed over into Africa, where he was almost uniformly successful; at the end of the year his imperium was prolonged 'until he should finish the war.' The Carthaginians, thoroughly alarmed, sent for Hannibal, who reluctantly left Italy. They met at Zama (202). Hannibal was completely beaten, and the Carthaginians had to submit to the severe terms imposed by the victor. In 192 he went as ambassador to King Antiochus, on which occasion he had a conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus. He died at Liternum in 187. He was consul in 205, 194, and censor in 199. He was born in 234, and was therefore only 47 at his death.

18 etsi: cf. § 2, where it has also the value of a connective, and yet, though quamquam is more common in this sense.

19 adulēscentiae vitiīs quam senectūtis: by the faults of youth rather than of old age. There is no difficulty in taking vitiis in the same sense as in §§ 25, 27, and not in that of 'vices,' which does not suit both genitives. What the particular 'faults' of youth meant is shown in the next clause. Reid,

however, changes senectutis to senectute.

20 effētum: worn out, properly 'that has brought forth,' then 'exhausted by bearing.' For its application to the body of an old man cf. Vergil, Aen. 5, 395,

gelidus tardante senecta sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.

§ 30. l. 21 Gyrus: Cyrus the elder was the son of Cambyses by Mandane, daughter of Astyages, the king of the Medes (Herodotus 1, 107). About B.C. 560 Cyrus led down the Persians from their mountainous country and conquered the Medes. His other exploits were the conquest of Croesus, King of Lydia (546), and the capture of Babylon (538), from which city he released the Jews.

apud Xenophontem: i.e. in the Cyropaedia (The Education of Cyrus), 8, 7, 6, which is a philosophical romance intended

to describe an ideal prince. τούμον γηρας ούδεπώποτε ησθό-

μην της έμης νεότητος άσθενέστερον γενόμενον.

22 Xenophon: Xenophon was born about B.C. 430, though some say 444, and the length of his life is variously stated at seventy-three and at ninety years. He was in his youth a follower of Socrates and wrote memorials of his conversation both in the Memorabilia and Symposium. The most famous incident of his life is his participation in the expedition of Cyrus against his brother in 402. He died at Corinth. He edited Thucydides, and wrote a continuation of his history, the Hellenica. also the Cyropaedia, Anabasis, Memorabilia, and smaller tracts on various subjects. See § 59.

1 L. Metellum: Lucius Caecilius Metellus, consul B.C. 251 and 247, dictator 224. In his first consulship Caecilius held Panormus in Sicily against the Carthaginians and finally made a sally and gained a decisive victory. (Polyb. 1, 40.) After this we hear of Caecilius only casually, he was magister equitum to Calatinus in 249, and pontifex maximus in 243, in which capacity he seems to have dedicated the new temple to Cybele (Ov. F. 4, 348), and was the hero of the famous story of the burning of the temple of Vesta. The Vestals being afraid to venture, he rushed into the shrine forbidden to males and brought out the sacred image (Palladium); he lost his eyesight in the action, but was allowed the privilege of riding to the Senate-house in a carriage, and his statue was placed on the Capitol. We must remember that as pontifex maximus the atrium Vestae and the Vestals themselves were under his care, and that he had an official residence adjoining. (Ovid. F. 6, 437-454.)

2 cum . . . esset: depends on the following clause, being

concessive in force.

5 non requireret: never wanted or never felt the loss of.

6 Nihil: with necesse.

7 id: i.e. to be garrulous about oneself.

CHAPTER X.

§ 31. 1. 8 vidētisne: here ne has the force of nonne, as in early and colloquial Latin.

ut: how, § 26.

apud Homērum Nestor: long speeches of Nestor in which he says much of himself will be found in Iliad, 1, 260 sq.; 7, 124 sq.;

and 11,668.

9 Nestor: King of Pylos, represented by Homer, as in the text, to have lived to three times the ordinary age of man. He is the counsellor and referee in all difficulties and dangers in the war, and it is he that, with Odysseus, is sent to try to draw Achilles from his sullen retirement. Cicero quotes him as an instance of the respect which years bring, and that is just the characteristic brought forward in the *Iliad*.

tertiam . . . vīribus: Iliad, 1, 247 sq.

11 vēra praedicāns: if he spoke the truth; note conditional force of participle.

1 Et tamen dux ille: Agamemnon, Riad, 2, 371. 2 nusquam: nowhere i.e. in the Riad or Odyssey.

Āiācis; Ajax, son of Telamon, King of Salamis, one of the Homeric heroes who went on the expedition against Troy. After the death of Achilles he was a competitor for the arms of that hero and being worsted by Odysseus went mad, and imagining he was slaying his rivals, killed a number of beasts. When his madness subsided, and he had found what he had done, he slew himself. In the *Riad* he is represented as a great warrior next in prowess to Achilles. Cicero here refers to him as an example of brute strength opposed to the wisdom of Nestor.

§ 32. 1.5 Quārtum agō et octōgēsimum: I am in my eighty-

fourth year, not I am eighty-four.

6 vellem: see note § 26. quod Cyrus: see § 30.

7 sed tamen: non possum is implied in the preceding vellem

... posse.

8 mīles . . . cum tribūnus mīlitāris: Cato here mentions the various stages of his active life. He was a private soldier (miles) in the Hannibalian War (§ 10); he was quaestor in Sicily in 204; as consul 195 he conducted a campaign with harshness though with vigor in Spain; and in 191 he served in the war against Antiochus as tribunus militum. Livy (36, 17) calls Cato consularis legatus, i.e. a man of consular rank serving in a commander-in-chief's staff. And this doubtless truly describes his position; but would not prevent his serving as tribunus nor in any other position assigned him by the consul or proconsul.

10 cum dēpūgnāvī: the time when I actively engaged in the battle at Thermopylae Notice cum purely temporal with indicative. Depugnare is properly 'to fight it out.' Here the preposition seems only to strengthen the word and to show that Cato was actually and personally engaged, not merely in the campaign, but throughout the battle itself. Cf. the distinction between ambulare 'to walk,' and deambulare 'to be taking a walk.'

13 adflixit: brought utterly to the ground, used chiefly by Cicero in a metaphorical sense; but cf. illi statuam istius deturbant affliquant comminuum. Cic. Pis. 38, 93.

cūria...rōstra: the Senate house and the popular assembly. The rostra (plural of rostrum), or platform from which magistrates addressed a public meeting (contio), was so called from its being adorned with beaks of ships. (Laelius de Am. § 96.) The other duties of active life likely to fall on a man in Cato's position are indicated by amici, 'private friends,' in whose behalf he would appear (adesse) as pleader or witness; clientes whom he was bound by a most sacred obligation to protect in law courts and elsewhere; hospites, 'guest friends' $(\pi \rho \delta \xi \epsilon \nu a)$, members of other towns which had formally made him patronus, or with whom he had some private tie of hospitality.

desiderat: this verb desiderare means to long for; egere above, means to be without what one needs; requirere means to feel the want and then seek to have that want supplied.

16 mātūrē fierī senem sī diū velīs senex esse: the proverb seems to mean only that if you would live long you must early be wise and prudent. Cato objects to it as meaning that a man should give up *active* life betimes if he would keep life long. He thinks "better to wear out than to rust out."

18 mallem: I would have preferred, i.e. if I had had still any choice in the matter, which being so old now I have not.

19 convenire mē: to visit me. Convenio in this sense is an active verb; cf. Ep. ad Fam. 6, 19, tantis pedum doloribus afficitur ut se conveniri nolit.

20 cui fuerim occupătus: who has found me preëngaged, opposed to otiosus.

§ 33. 1. 20 At: but you will say. Cf. note on § 21.

21 T. Ponti centurionis: some centurion famous for strength,

but see Reid, ad loc. The varicosi centuriones are spoken of by Persius (5, 191) as representatives of brute strength.

2 Moderātio: see Vocabulary.

modo: see on § 22.

3 nē: the affirmative ne, truly.

4 Olympiae: Olympia was in Elis, in the Peloponnesus, in the valley of the river Alpheus. It was the place where the celebrated games took place in which all who could claim Hellenic blood might take part, and which were held every fourth year. The first year, used as an era, is placed in B.C. 776.

5 cum . . . sustineret: cf. Quint. 1, 9, 5, Milo, quem vitulum

assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat.

6 hās: referring to Milo's physical strength.

8 dum adsit...cum absit: as dum and cum are simply temporal, the subjunctives are attracted, through the utare and requires.

9 nisi forte: cf. § 18, n.

10 requirere: see on desiderat, § 32.

12 aetātis: here equal to vitae.

tempestīvitās est data, ut...habeat: each separate season of our life has had assigned to it its particular conditions of seasonableness, so that the feebleness of children as well as the high spirit of youth, etc...has a certain natural propriety. A clause which really gives an exemplification of the preceding statement is put grammatically as a consequence, cf. Cic. 2 Phil. § 62, erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet quantum rapere potuisset.

15 suo: its own.

16 percipī: cf. § 24, for percipere, of the gathering of fruit. § 34. l. 16 audīre: you are informed, cf. the Gk. ἀκούειν, the present with force of perfect.

17 hospes tuus avītus: the guest friend of your grandfather,

i.e. Scipio Africanus the elder.

Masinissa: son of Gala, king of a tribe of Numidians called Massyli. In B.c. 213 an alliance was made between Syphax, king of another part of Numidia, and the Romans. Thereupon the Carthaginians made an alliance with Gala. The army of Gala was entrusted to Masinissa, then seventeen years old, who overthrew Syphax with great slaughter and drove him into flight (Liv. 24, 48-9); and the next year, having passed over into

Spain, contributed much to the defeat and death of Publius Scipio (212, Liv. 25, 34). He appears to have remained in Spain until 205, when, becoming convinced that success was destined to the Roman arms, he made a secret compact with the Roman commanders, and led his troops back to Africa (Liv. 28, 16). On the death of the father and uncle of Masinissa, who had held the royal power in succession, Mezetulus, a distant kinsman, seized the throne and allied himself with Carthage, and also with Syphax. Masinissa keeping on the side of Rome conquered both, and held his father's kingdom (204). He afterwards aided Laelius in conquering and taking prisoner his rival Syphax 203). Masinissa afterwards was by the gratitude of the Romans rewarded with large additions to his kingdom (201), and from this time forward he was a faithful ally of Rome. The last we hear of him in Livy is in the year 168, when he sent his son Masgabas to assure the Senate that he would supply all that he could for their war in the East. He died twenty years later, in 148, when the younger Africanus was in Africa carrying on the Third Punic War (Appian, Pun. 105), leaving it a strict charge with his sons to submit the arrangement of the succession and division of his kingdom to Scipio's direction, whom he had begged to come to him, but who did not arrive in time. Cato speaks of him in 150 as ninety; but if Livy's statement that he was seventeen in 213 be right, he would only be eighty. (Liv. 24, 41).

21 capite operto: Abl. of characteristic, 'to be with covered head,' 'wearing a cap or hat.' In an ordinary way a Roman in and before Cicero's time wore nothing on the head; but on journeys and in bad weather had a kind of hood (cucullus) or hat (pileus or petasus). As late as the time of Augustus we find it mentioned as something noticeable that the Emperor never went out winter or summer without a hat (non-nisi petasatus, Suet. 82). Slaves especially were always uncovered, hence

pileos redimire = 'to purchase freedom.'

siccitatem: freedom from unhealthy humors. Cf. Tusc. 5, 34, 99 (speaking of the effects of a vegetarian diet), adde siccitatem, quae seguitur hanc continentiam in victu, adde integritatem naletudinis. Galen, however, speaks of the siccitas of old age

as preliminary to decay (De Temper. 2).

CHAPTER XI.

- 5 Non sunt...vires: this acknowledges a weakness of old age only to show how little it should interfere with happiness. This is the reading of the Leyden Ms., favored by Mommsen. Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer, Sommerbrodt, Reid read ne sint, a formula of concession for argument's sake; grant that age has no strength.
- 6 ā senectūte: abstract for concrete = senibus, for after a fixed age (sixty) men are free from certain duties, e.g. military service; and by general consent certain things are no longer expected of them.
- 7 vacat muneribus: is exempt from those duties which cannot be supported without bodily vigor. Military service supplied the chief munera.

8 non modo: i.e. non modo non; the second non is omitted

before sed ne quidem; see grammatical reference.

§ 35. 1. 12 At: but you will say, the objection of the opponent to which the answer is also introduced by at, at id quidem. See Vocabulary.

13 commune valētudinis: a fault equally belonging to all ill health. Valetudo is a neutral word, 'state of health'; naturally it is used more often for bad health, as the non-normal state is that which mostly excites remark.

1 filius: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, was prevented by weak health from taking part in public life. Cicero says he composed some short speeches and some Greek history, written in a very pleasant style (dulcissime), and showed great promise as a man of learning. (Brut. 19, 77: De Off. 1, 33, 81.)

3 illud: note agreement with *lumen*, here standing for ille. Cf. similar attraction ea, quae gemma dicitur, § 53.

8 vitia: drawbacks. In milder sense as § 25, 27, 35. diligentia: here equal to earnest care and attention.

§ 36. 1. 10 habenda ratio: we must pay attention to. Cicero is referring to a Pythagorean doctrine: see the 'Golden Verses,'

οὐδ' ὑγιείης τῆς περὶ σῶμ' ἀμέλειαν ἔχειν χρή· ἀλλὰ ποτοῦ τε μέτρον καὶ σίτου, γυμνασίων τε ποιεῖσθαι. 12 tantum := only so much. Cf. § 69.

13 non: adversative asyndeton for et non or sed non.

14 menti atque animo: the intellect and the soul.

15 nam haec quoque: for these also are things which, i.e. the intellect and the soul; notice the neuter plural haec, referring to menti and animo.

16 Et corpora levantur: and whereas our bodies grow gross and heavy from exercise, our souls are lightened and refined by keeping them in action.

18 quos ait: sc. esse, a rare omission with aio, though com-

mon with dico and appello. (Reid.)

20 comicos stultos senes: the old dotards of comedy, a passage quoted at greater length in the Laelius de Am. § 99.

21 hos significat: by these he means. Cf. salutare, § 21, and

grammatical reference.

dissolūtōs: is not our dissolute, but rather careless and remiss. 4 dēlīrātiō: dotage, a somewhat rare word derived from delirare, 'to deviate from the straight line or furrow' (lira). Cicero is rather fond of the word delirare (De Off. 1, 27, 94; N. D. 1, 34, 94), but apparently only in one other passage uses deliratio, as meaning something more than mere poverty of intellect: O delirationem incredibilem! non enim omnis error stuititia est dicenda, De Div. 2, 43, 'aberration of intellect.'

senum levium: of frivolous old men.

§ 37. 1. 5 robustos: sturdy.

6 clientēlās: so many clientes. One of the measures of Appius, which would have increased the number of persons regarding him as a patronus, was his inclusion of the libertini in the lists of the tribes drawn up by him as censor in 312, a

measure which got his colleague into some trouble.

9 auctoritatem . . . imperium: influence, 'full legal power.' The power of a father over his son, and of a master over his slaves, was practically absolute; and, in the latter case at least, was not restrained by public opinion from its fullest exercise. Cato's description of the household of Appius is probably put in his mouth from a study of his own treatise de re rustica, where a severe discipline on the part of the paterfamilias is often enjoined, and a personal supervision of his establishment: frons occipitio prior est (Cato R. R. ch. 4).

10 in suos: over his own household.

metuebant . . . verebantur: his slaves feared him, his children revered him.

11 vigēbat in illā domō, etc.: the old fashions of our fathers, and their rules of life, were in full action in that establishment. Mos patrius refers especially to the sternness towards children and slaves characteristic of old Roman life. But the reading is doubtful; Reid, for instance, writes vigebat in illo animus patrius, arguing that it is the mental vigor of Appius, not his conservatism, which is in question. To which it may be replied that the maintenance of the mos patrius is only mentioned as an instance of his mental vigor in old age.

Sommerbrodt reads: v. i. illa domo patrii moris disciplina.

§ 38. 1.12 Ita enim senectūs honesta est . . . ēmancipāta est: in fact old age is respectable just so long as it asserts itself, and maintains its proper dues, and is not enslaved to any one.

14 ēmancipō meant primarily (1) to release a slave or son from the patria potestas; then, when one owner delivers to a new, it means (2) the transfer, as of a piece of property, mancipium; cf. De Fin. 1, 24, 7, illam severitatem meo filio adhibuit quem in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat, where the new owner is mentioned. Further, as in Plautus, Bacch., 1, 1, 59, mulier, tibi me emancupo, I enslave myself to you; I pass the potestas of myself into your hands, it has the meaning (3) enslave; cf. Horace, Epod. 9, 12, emancipatus feminae. Cic. Phil. 2, 21, 51. So that it receives finally meanings directly opposed; to free, to enslave.

16 senile aliquid: something of the old man.

19 Originum: this is the title of Cato's work on early Roman history, of which there were seven books. The name is due to the character of the second and third books, which treated of the origin of the Italian states. The first book treated of the kingly period, the fourth and fifth of the First and Second Punic Wars, while the sixth and seventh related subsequent history down to the last year of Cato's life.

Septimus...in manibus: I am now engaged in composing the seventh book of my Origines. See note § 22. In the seventh book he inserted, according to Aulus Gellius (13, 25), his own speech which he made against Servius Galba for his treacherous conduct to the Lusitani (B.C. 150). Cf. Nep. Cato. 3.

20 causārum . . . dēfendī: of all the famous cases in which I have appeared as counsel. Note neutral force of causam defendere.

21 nunc cum māximē: at this very time. The expression is elliptical for cum maxime conficio orationes, nunc conficio. (Reid.)

22 conficio: I am putting the finishing touches to. He seems to mean that he is preparing an edition of his speeches. Fragments of about eighty are preserved, but we have no complete speech of Cato's, unless we look upon that given by Livy (34, 1) as genuine.

iūs augurium, pontificium, cīvīle tractō: I am writing treatises on augural, pontifical, and civil law. The two first are the rules and precedents observed by the colleges of augurs and pontifices. Ius civile 'civil law,' is quod quis populus sibi ius constituit, as opposed to ius naturale and ius gentium; that is, it is the law which a particular people have established for their own government. The Roman ius civile was held to consist of two parts, law (lex) and custom (mos): ex scripto (i.e. leges, plebiscita) aut ex non scripto (i.e. quod usus comprobavit). Justin. 1, tit. 2.

25 commemoro: I repeat to myself. He is referring to the rule contained in the so-called 'Golden Verses' of Pythagoras,

μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὅμμασι προσδέξασθαι,
πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἔκαστον ἐπελθεῖν·
πῆ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;
ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ πρώτου ἐπέξιθι· καὶ μετέπειτα
δειλὰ μὲν ἐκπρήξας, ἐπιπλήσσεο· χρηστὰ δέ, τέρπου.

The object of the Pythagoreans was moral training and not memory exercise, so that exercendae memoriae gratia does not refer to them.

1 curricula: places of exercise or training, really race courses. Cf. § 27.

3 adsum amicis: I appear for my friends, i.e. as advocate or witness (laudator). Cf. semper absenti adfui Deiotaro, 'I always appeared for Deiotarus in his absence,' Cic. Phil. 2, 37,95. adesse contra Satrium, 'to appear against Satrius,' Cic. Ad Att. 1, 1, 3. amicis is dative (dativus commodi).

4 \overline{u} ltr \overline{o} que adfer \overline{o} r \overline{e} s: and I take the initiative in bringing before the Senate matters prepared by deep and long reflection. The presiding magistrate, generally the consul, brought matters before the Senate (referre rem ad Senatum), he then called upon (rogare) the senators for their sententia according to their seniority or rank. In giving this sententia it appears to have been the custom for a senator if he chose, to speak on almost any subject. It was in this way that Cato seems to mean that he brought matters before the Senate ultro, i.e. without being called upon for them; and thus the celebrated delendam esse Karthaginem (see § 18) was brought in so often.

7 lectulus: a couch on which a man lay or sat when reading or engaged in literary work.

8 ācta vīta: my past life.

11 sēnsim sine sēnsū: by degrees and unperceived, a kind of play on the double meaning of two words derived from the same root, which we might partly represent in English by 'unhasted and untasted.' This sort of jingle is characteristic of proverbial or quasi-proverbial sentences. Cf. Lael. de Am. §§ 64 and 79; and for sensus cf. sensus moriendi, § 74 and Lael. de Am. § 12. Cicero joins sensim with tarde in De Fin. 5, 15, 41; and contrasts it with cursim in Phil. 2, 17, 42. Note the alliteration.

12 exstinguitur: is allowed to die out, like a candle. Cf. Lael. de Am. 78, where it is opposed to opprimi.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 39. l. 13 Sequitur tertia vituperātiō senectūtis: see § 15 and § 66, quarta restat causa.

14 quod eam carere dicunt: more exactly, quod, ut dicunt, careat.

voluptātibus: sensual pleasures.

15 aetātis: here for increasing years.

17 Archytae Tarentīnī: Archytas was a distinguished Pythagorean philosopher and mathematician of Tarentum who flourished about B.C. 400. Practically nothing is known of him. From Horace (C. 1, 28), who calls him maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae Mensorem, it has been supposed that he was drowned in the Adriatic. Stobaeus has a considerable number

of extracts which profess to be from the works of Archytas, especially from the treatise on the 'Good and happy man,' and the passage in the text may be from the same treatise; but these extracts are probably from some later philosopher. Stobaeus, Flor. 2, 134-139; 3, 260, etc. A saying of his is quoted in the Lael. de Am. § 88. According to Athenaeus (4, 84) he was skilled in playing on the flute, and left a treatise $\pi \epsilon \rho l$ $a\dot{\nu}\lambda \hat{\omega}\dot{\nu}$.

3 capitāliōrem: more deadly; capitālis is that which affects the caput, i.e. life or status, of a man. When employing the word metaphorically Cicero nearly always uses it in a bad sense, as capitālis hostis, capitāle odium, etc.; but in Epist. ad Q. 2, 11, 4, he speaks of an historian as capitālis, a writer of the

first rank.

5 cūius voluptātis: with avidae. 6 ad potiendum: sc. voluptate.

incitarentur: the mood and tense follow the usage in indirect discourse.

§ 40. 1. 10 ad quod suscipiendum non...impelleret: for the undertaking of which the itch for pleasure is not the exciting motive. Sc. homines with impelleret. The mood and tense are due to indirect discourse.

12 flāgitium: a shameful doed, so sin; facinus = (1) a deed; (2) malum facinus, afterwards, without malum, = crime, a milder term than scelus; in scelus the essential idea is criminal action or purpose, hence it means crime.

14 mente: intellect, voûs.

§ 41. 1. 16 dominante...regno: represent the Greek $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\sigma$ $\tau\epsilon\dot{\nu}o\nu\tau\sigma$ s and $\tau\nu\rho\alpha\nu\iota\dot{\delta}\iota$, the former indicating the master of a slave, the latter the rule of an absolute despot. in regno is not in the kingdom' in the sense in which we use the word meaning the country or dominions of a sovereign, but under the dominion of, in the absolute power of. Or we might turn it by saying 'where pleasure is king.'

19 fingere animo: to imagine a person moved to the highest

pitch of sensual pleasure.

tantā . . . quanta māxima: cf. Lael. de Am. §74.

21 censebat: the subject of this verb and of iubebat is Archytas.

tam diū dum ita gaudēret: that just so long as such pleasure possesses him. The dum might have stood by itself, but

NOTES. 121

tamdiu emphasizes its definiteness; cf. Pro Fl. 41, qui valuit

tamdiu dum huc prodiret and Cat. iii. 7.

22 nihil agitare mente . . . posset: he was incapable of any intellectual process,—could accomplish nothing that required reasoning, nothing that required thought. Ratio and cogitatio are processes included under mens. For agitare cf. N. D. 1, 17, 45, actio mentis atque agitatio. Tusc. 5, 23, 66, mens agitandis exquirendisque rationibus alebatur.

25 siquidem: if indeed (implying no doubt), since.

māior atque longinquior: excessive and more prolonged. Cf. De Fin. 3, 14, 46, nec longinquiora brevioribus anteponunt. The meaning of voluptas longinquior is the indulgence in pleasure even beyond the time when it would be regarded as a pardonable youthful indiscretion; breve sit quod turpiter audes, said Juvenal (8, 165), thinking of the same thing.

1 Gāius Pontius Herennius: a Samnite, and father of Gaius Pontius, who captured the consul Postumius and his army at the Furculae Caudinae in E.c. 321. Livy (9, 1), calls him prudentissimus, as opposed to his son, whom he describes as primus bellator duxque. This epithet seems to allude to his learning, and would be accounted for by his intercourse with the Pythagoreans, to a tradition of which Cato no doubt refers. Being sent for by his son to advise what should be done with the Roman army, he gave it as his opinion that he should kill them all or let all go free.

Caudino proelio: at the battle in the Caudine Forks in the Samnite War. 321 B.C.

2 Sp. Postumius Albīnus: was consul in B.C. 334 and 321, censor in 332, and magister equitum (327) to the dictator Marcellus, who was appointed to that office so as to hold peaceful elections (Livy, 8, 16-23). In his second consulship in the Samnite War he was entrapped in a pass called the Caudine Forks by Gaius Pontius. The entire Roman army was compelled to surrender, and Postumius was obliged to agree to the terms demanded by Pontius, which provided for the abstaining of the Romans from all interference with Samnium. The Romans refused to accept the treaty, and Postumius with others, on his own suggestion, was returned a prisoner to Pontius, who justly refused to regard such a measure as putting affairs on the same footing as before. We know that Postumius returned

in safety to the Roman quarters (Livy, 9, 5-10; Cic. De Off. 3, 30, 109), but we hear no more of him.

T. Veturius: Titus Veturius Calvinus, consul B.C. 334 and 321. In his second consulship he shared with his colleague (see *Albinus*) the disgrace at the 'Caudine Forks,' and with him abdicated his office and was delivered to the *fetiales* to be handed over to the Samnites.

3 Nearchus: Nearchus of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, with whom Cato made friends while serving under Fabius when the latter recovered Tarentum in B.C. 209. We know nothing more of him but that he remained faithful to the Roman side. (Plut. Cat. 2.)

4 permanserat: at the siege of Tarentum. The party friendly to Hannibal treacherously delivered the city into his

hands B.C. 212; cf. Chap. iv. 10, 11.

5 cum quidem . . . Athēniēnsis: this clause explains *locutum* (esse). Plato visited Italy and Sicily on two occasions, but we can hardly believe that he was at Tarentum 349, when he was very old. His last visit was said to have been in 361.

7 L. Camillō: Lucius Furius Camillus, consul in B.c. 349, dictator in B.c. 350 and 345 for the formal purpose of holding the Comitia. His colleague in the consulship (nominated by himself according to Livy, 8, 24) was Appius Claudius; see below, Appius. In his war against the Gauls the famous contest of Valerius Corvinus was said to have taken place. Camillus was a strong supporter of the patricians against the plebs.

Appiō Claudiō: Appius Claudius Crassinus Regillensis, consul for the year B.C. 349, as colleague of Camillus. He died in his consulship while making preparations for war with the Latins and Gauls (Livy, 7, 25). He was a grandson of the decemvir Appius Claudius, and was apparently a strong opponent of the plebeian party (Livy, 6, 40 sq.). He had been dictator in 362, appointed on the defeat and death of the plebeian consul Lucius Genucius in a war with the Hernici (Livy, 7, 6).

§ 42. 1.8 Quorsus hoc: what is the point of all this? sc.

dicebam or dixi; cf. § 13.

intellegerëtis: depends on dicebam or dixi implied with quorsus hoc. In § 13, quia profecto takes the place of the purpose clause.

NOTES. 123

10 habendam grātiam: gratitude should be felt. gratiam habere = feel thankful; gratias agere = give thanks; gratiam

 $referre = requite \ a \ favor.$

11 quae efficeret: for having brought it about. The relative with the subjunctive expressing the cause or reason, while the tense is due to the verb of saying implied with quorsus hoc.

ut id non liberet quod non oporteret: that we cease to like that which we ought not to do. The highest perfection of virtue

is when the will and the duty coincide.

13 ut ita dicam: this softens the metaphorical expression,

so quasi and quasi quidam.

praestringit: blinds, literally bandages; cf. De Div. 1, 29, 61, quorum utrumque (inopia and satietas) praestringere aciem mentis solet. Note oculos for aciem.

14 Invītus fēcī: Cato says he did it unwillingly, but no more deserved punishment was ever inflicted.

15 T. Flāminīnī: see § 1, note.

L. Flāminīnum: Lucius Quintus Flamininus, brother of the foregoing. He commanded the fleet in his brother's consulship, besieged and took Eretria and Carystus, in Euboea, and was on the whole successful. By his brother's influence he was elected consul for B.C. 192, during which year he conducted a desultory campaign against the Ligures. It was in this campaign that the disgraceful crime was committed mentioned in the text, for which Cato righteously removed him from the Senate. (See Livy, 39, 42.) What is astonishing is that the people seem to have condoned it, for they cheered him when he afterwards appeared in the theatre (Plutarch, Flam. 19).

16 senātū ēicerem: i.e. as censor, one of whose duties was to make up the list of the senators, and turn out any one who had become bankrupt or who had disgraced himself. After the time of Sulla the censors ceased to perform this duty, though apparently, until the law brought in by Clodius B.C. 58, they had nominally the right of doing it; but their nota was not final. For instance, the censors of the year 70 removed sixty-four names from the Senate (Livy, Ep. 98), but Cicero (Cluent. § 120) declares that after standing their trial for the crimes alleged by the censors they returned to the Senate. (See Mommsen, H. of R., vol. 3, p. 360.)

17 notandam: the verb notare, to brand, used of the action of the censors, so nota censoria.

18 in Gallia: he served in Gaul when consul; see above.

20 Titō cēnsōre: B.C. 189.

2 Flaccō: Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who originally induced Cato to come to Rome, was his colleague in his consulship B.C. 195, and in his censorship 184. Whilst his colleague was engaged in Spain he had to fight with the Boian Gauls, whom he conquered with considerable slaughter in the neighborhood of Cremona. Like his colleague also he served as a legatus in the war with Antiochus under Manius Acilius, and was present at the battle of Thermopylae. He became princeps senatus during his censorship, and died in 180 in a pestilence which raged in Rome that year.

4 imperi dedecus: dishonor to his rank as imperator, thus

involving the nation whose imperium he held as consul.

quae . . . coniungeret: seeing that it united.

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 43. 1.5 porrō: in turn. 6 puerōs: when boys.

7 apud: at the headquarters.

apud Pyrrhum: Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, born about B.C. 318, was the son of Aeacides, and as these names indicate, claimed descent from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. His father was killed in battle when he was a child, and he was brought up by Glaucias, the king of an Illyrian tribe called the Taulantians. He first engaged in a struggle for his father's throne, which he finally obtained in 295, and then in a long war with Macedonia. In 281 he received an invitation from the Tarentines to come over to Italy to aid and lead them against Rome. Early in the next year he crossed with 25,300 men and a number of elephants and defeated the Romans near Heraclea on the Siris in 280. Again at Asculum he fought the Romans, but without decisive result. Being invited to aid the Siceliots against Carthage, he crossed to Sicily and remained there two years without accomplishing much. In the autumn of 276, he returned to Italy at the request of the Italian towns and again fought the Romans in

125 NOTES.

274, at Beneventum, but suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Curius Dentatus, and returned home. In 273 he obtained possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and, while attempting to get control of the city of Argos, was killed by a tile which a woman threw at him from the roof of a house. Pyrrhus seems to have been a man of gallant and chivalrous disposition, and though willing to enter upon war for the gratification of ambition, he conducted his campaigns without unnecessary cruelty. His conduct in returning the Roman prisoners without ransom left behind him in Italy the good reputation to which Cicero refers in Lael. de Am. § 28. De Off. 1, 12, 38.

8 Cinea: Cineas was a Thessalian by birth, and in his youth had heard the eloquence of Demosthenes (died B.C. 322); he must, therefore, have been past middle age when he came with Pyrrhus to Italy. He was a man of learning and wisdom, and had much influence in the affairs of Pyrrhus, so that much of the latter's success as well as his moderate methods may be attributed to Cineas' good counsel. After Heraclea in 282 Cineas, going as ambassador to Rome, nearly persuaded the Senate to accept his proposals. On his return to Pyrrhus he told him that the Senate seemed to him an assembly of kings, and warned him that the task he had undertaken was almost insuperable. (Plut., Purrh. 19: Livy, Ep. 13.) Cineas was sent to Sicily before his master 479-8, but beyond this fact we hear nothing more of him.

9 qui se sapientem profiteretur: who presented himself as a public teacher of philosophy. He means of course Epicurus, who was born in Samos B.C. 342 of Athenian parents, and from his 35th year (306) lived and taught at Athens. He founded the school which bears his name. The important teachings of his philosophy were, in physics, the atomic theory of Democritus as given in Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, in ethics, that pleasure is the summum bonum, i.e. pleasure not momentary, but final and complete. See Mayor's Sketch of Ancient Philosophy.

10 ad voluptātem esse referenda: were to be referred to the standard of pleasure. This is the popular statement of the famous doctrine of Epicurus that 'the only unconditional good is pleasure; pain is an unconditional evil.' Though Epicurus lived a simple and virtuous life himself, his opponents, and indeed the world at large, maintained that such a doctrine encouraged immorality; whereas it was a statement of a simple truth, and as modified by his further doctrine had no such tendency. For 'he would have pleasure forsworn if it would entail a greater corresponding pain, and pain submitted to if it holds out the prospect of greater pleasure.' Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, p. 447.

12 opto: to express a wish.

14 cum . . . dedissent: as having given themselves over to pleasure.

vixerat cum: had been intimate with.

- 15 (1) Publius Decius Mus the elder, is the hero of the Samnite War of B.C. 342-340. We hear of his rescuing the consul Cornelius and his army from a position of peril near Saticula, and receiving for that service a crown from the consul and another from the soldiers (corona obsidionalis, Liv. 7, 37). In 340 he was consul, and had to serve in a war with the Latini. Livy tells how at Capua both he and his colleague dreamed the same dream: that a man of superhuman size and dignity appeared, and warned them that on one side the leader, on the other the army itself, must perish. In the battle of Veseris near Mt. Vesuvius, he thereupon 'devoted' himself 'to the Manes and to Earth,' and mounting his horse rode into the midst of the enemy and was killed (Liv. 8, 9). Cicero (Tusc. 1, 37, 89) says that a third Decius, son of this last, acted in the same way in the war with Pyrrhus, at the battle of Asculum, B.C. 279.
- 15 P. Deciō: Publius Decius Mus, the younger, was consul in B.C. 312, 308, 297, 295, and censor in 304. He served with success against the Samnites, both as consul and after his year of office as proconsul. In his last consulship he had with his colleague Fabius to serve against the Etruscans, who were assisted by the Galli Senones. In the battle of Sentinum, 295, the Roman ranks were breaking and in disorder. Decius, after vainly attempting to rally them, devoted himself like his father (familiare fatum, Liv. 10, 28), to the 'Earth and Manes,' and having done so rushed into the thickest part of the foe and perished.

2 eundem: Decius.

3 **ēius quem dīcō P. Decī**: note the use of the pronoun, like the article, and the attributive position of *quem dico*.

4 aliquid quod suā sponte peterētur: something that was

sought for its own sake, the summum bonum or $\tau \epsilon \lambda os$ which was $\delta \delta i'$ αὐτὸ βουλόμεθα, 'what we desire for its own sake.'

§ 44. 1.7 Quorsus: see § 42; dixi is omitted.

8 Quia . . . quod: Quia = because; quod, by reason of the fact that . . . in that. Quod is the usual particle in classical prose; Caesar has only one case of quia. See G. & L. 541, note 1. Cf. Rosc. Am. 50, 145, concedo et quod animus aequus est, et quia necesse est. See A. & G. 156 f.

10 caret: to be destitute of something desirable.

extructisque mensis: tables loaded with food. There is a notion of vulgar profusion conveyed by extructis, 'piled up,' cf. Pis. 27 § 67, extructa mensa non conchyllis aut piscibus sed multa carne subrancida. In Horace, Sat. 2, 6, 104, it is used of the baskets of dirty plates and dishes, extructis canistris. Cf. Plautus, Menaechmi 1, 1, 25, ita mensas exstruit . . . standumst in lecto si quid de summo petas.

12 Sed sī aliquid dandum est: but if any concession is to

be made to.

13 quoniam: used in giving evident reasons; see A. & G. 156 f., G. & L. 538, 3.

14 ēscam: bait, allurement; cf. ἡδονὴ κακοῦ δέλεαρ. Plat. Tim. 69 D.

18 C. Duellium: Gaius Duellius consul B.C. 260, censor 258. In his consulship, being in Sicily in command of the land forces, he found that his patrician colleague, Cn. Cornelius, who was in command of a part of the fleet, had been defeated by the Carthaginians and had lost nearly all his ships. He at once took command of the remainder of the ships, and having caused contrivances (corvi) for grappling the enemy's ships to be affixed to his own vessels, he met them off Mylae, W. of Palermo, and defeated them, taking 31 and sinking 14 (Polyb. 1. 22-3). For this success he was awarded a triumph, the first ever gained at sea, and had the perpetual honor granted him which is mentioned in the text. He was a plebeian, which may perhaps account for the harmless vanity with which he availed himself of it. The beaks of the conquered ships adorned the Columna which supported the speaker's platform in the Comitium, which was thence called Rostra. The inscription commemorating it was apparently restored in the time of the Emperor Augustus or Claudius, and that restoration has been discovered and is now at Rome. We know nothing more of Duellius except that he was formal dictator in 231.

20 cēreō fūnālī: the MSS. have either crebro or credo. Cereō is the emendation of Mommsen after Manutius, who favored it as occurring in two MSS. See Reid, p. 173.

21 prīvātus: when out of office.

§ 45. 1. 22 Sed . . . alios: sc. commemoro.

Ad mē . . . revertar: cf. redeo ad me, § 31.

23 Prīmum: here without the deinde.

24 Sodālitātēs: clubs. The meaning is, new societies, were formed at this time, not that the custom was now first introduced. These sodalitates seem to have been at first wholly social, and, as we see here, to have originated in a plan of celebrating a national festival by a meeting of friends at dinner. However, the tie between the members was close, for Cicero classes officia tutelae, sodalitatis, familiaritatis together (Verr. 2, 1, 47, § 94); and sometimes it was carried into politics. Sodalitium therefore became the term for the crime of wholesale bribery (Pro Planc. 15, 36 and 19, 47), and in 55 B.C. a decree of the Senate was found necessary to order the clubs to disperse under penalty of the members' being prosecuted de vi (ad Q. Fr. 2, 3, 5). Cn. Plancius was charged with sodalitium, under the Lex Licinia (passed B.C. 70) and Cicero's speech in his defence is extant. They, however, continued to exist as social unions, for Ovid says that he and Propertius were members of the same club (Tr. 4, 10, 46); but as popular elections ceased under the Empire, they lost all political significance. (Mommsen, H. of R., vol. 4, p. 503.)

quaestore: in the year 204 B.C.

25 sacris Idaeis . . . acceptis: when the Idaean worship of the Great Mother was introduced.

Māgnae Mātris: Cybele (identified with Rhea, the mother of the gods) was a Phrygian deity, whose worship was introduced at Rome in B.c. 204, in consequence of an oracle obtained from Delphi in accordance with the directions of the Sibylline Books. An embassy was sent to King Attalus of Pergamus, and he presented the commissioners with a black stone which was believed to be the goddess. (See Lanciani, Ancient Rome p. 126.) When it came to Rome it was received by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica as 'the best man,'—in accordance with the order of the oracle.

NOTES. 129

A festival in her honor was established, lasting six days, from the 4th of April, called the Megalesia. (Ovid, F.4, 249; Livy, 29, 14.)

2 aetātis: here equal to iuventus; cf. § 39, where it is equal

to senectus; cf. also § 33, where it has the value of vita.

5 amīcorum: placed between the two words to which it belongs; cf. § 1.

6 accubitionem epularem: the reclining at the festal board.

quia vitae coniunctionem haberet: seeing that it involved a
union of life. The subjunctive is due to the fact that the clause
represents the thought of maiores nostri, not of the speaker.

8 tum . . . tum: here at times . . . at times. G. & L. § 482, 1.

9 compōtātiōnem: συμπόσιον.

concēnātionem: σύνδειπνον.

10 quod in eō genere minimum est: the least important point in the matter; sc. rerum with in eo genere; in this phase the defining genitive, rerum, is regularly omitted in Cicero.

CHAPTER XIV.

§ 46. l. 13 tempestivis . . . convīviīs: banquets at an early hour. A tempestivum convivium was begun before the usual hour, which was three in the afternoon, in order that it might be of longer duration. Excess is thus implied, and finally the term came to mean a debauch.

2 cum vestrā... aetāte atque vöbīscum: with men of your age, and, of course, with you especially. atque is not merely a conjunction; it introduces a clause as naturally fol-

lowing the preceding one.

4 auxit...sustulit: notice the absence of the disjunctive word. The indicative is also noticeable as simply stating the reason as a fact. Cicero here closely follows Plato, Rep. 328 D, &s εὐ ἴσθ' ὅτι ἔμοιγε, ὅσον αὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἡδοναὶ ἀπομαραίνονται, τοσοῦτον αὕξονται αὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιθυμίαι τε καὶ ἡδοναί.

6 cūius . . . modus: of which, after all, there is perhaps a certain measure allowed by nature.

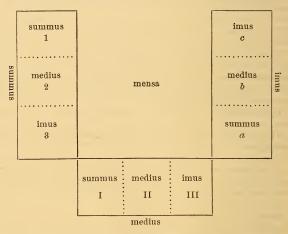
9 magisteria: the office of arbiter bibendi or $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \sigma \sigma la \rho \chi \sigma s$, which we know from Horace was decided by lot (C. 1, 4, 18),

. . . domus exilis Plutonia; quo simul mearis Nec regna vini sortiere talis, etc.

and C. 2, 7, 25, Quem Venus arbitrum Dicet bibendi? Cicero refers to the leges quae in poculis ponebantur in Verr. 5, 28. Observe the plural magisteria in speaking generally, not of one instance, of joining in this custom. Reid, judging from Mommsen's De Collegiis, where mention is made of a magister cenarum annually appointed to attend to club dinners, believes that some office more important than arbiter bibendi is referred to.

ā māiōribus īnstitūta: the custom was of some antiquity, and was known among the Greeks also; it is alluded to by Plautus more than once.

10 ā summō: from the first on the triclinium, that is, from the summus in summo, the person who lay at the end of the left-hand couch (looking down the table).



The *imus in medio* (III) was the place of honor, the *summus* in *imo* (a) was usually the place of the host. The other places were assigned apparently by occasional or accidental considera-

NOTES. 131

tions. Cato seems to regard the summus in summo (1) as the junior place, and its occupant has to start the conversation, just as the cup circulated from the same place, from left to right; cf. Plaut. Asin. 5, 2, 41, da, puere, ab summo. A philosophical symposium probably occurred seldom in real life (but see Herod. 6, 129), yet it was a favorite form into which to cast philosophical writings. Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch each wrote a 'Symposium.' Three on each couch was the regular number. To crowd more on them was vulgar; see Pis. § 67.

adhibētur in poculo: is engaged in over the cups.

11 et pōcula . . . minūta atque rōrantia : cups of smaller size providing the wine in driblets, as in Xenophon's Symposium. Cato is translating Symp. 2, 26, $\ddot{\eta}\nu$ δè $\dot{\eta}\mu$ $\ddot{\nu}\nu$ οἱ παίδες μ ικρα $\dot{\epsilon}$ κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιψακάζωσιν . . . οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφι-

ξόμεθα. Cf. Eurip. Ion, 1179.

12 refrigerātiō: either (1) the cool place where the dinner was held, opposed to the room warmed by exposure to the winter's sun or by artificial means or (2) the artificial cooling of wine, which in the time of Martial and Pliny was accomplished by pouring it through snow (Mart. 14, 103–104; 5, 64; 9, 22, 8. Pliny 19, § 54). The former is certainly better, as the mention of sol and ignis hibernus as heating agencies seems extraordinary in such a connection. Translate: and the coolness of the retreat in summer and in turn the warmth of the sun and the winter's fire in winter.

14 in Sabīnīs: at my Sabine country house, i.e. at Tuscu-

lum; sc. agris.

vicinorum: depending upon compleo according to Draeger, Historische Syntax, I., p. 558, or according to Reid upon convivium.

15 ad multam noctem: late into the night. As the ordinary hour for the cena was 3 p.m., this implied a very lengthy entertainment.

§ 47. 1. 17 At: § 21, 23, 35, 44.

quasi: marks translation from the Greek; titillatio stands for the epicurean γαργαλισμός, cf. N. D. 1, 40, 113; Fin. 1, 11, 39, Tusc. 3, 20, 47.

18 nihil autem molestum, quod non desideres: if you don't miss anything, its absence is not painful, cf. desiderat, § 32.

19 Bene: sc. dixit.

1 utereturne: whether he enjoyed.

Dī meliōra: sc. duint, for the archaic form is used in this phrase. The story is from Plato, Rep. 1, 329.

6 hoc non desiderare: these words are the subject of the verb est.

§ 48. 1. 8 bona aetās: adulescentia, cf. § 45, where aetas is used for inventus.

9 parvulis: insignificant.

10 potitur: due to a desire for variety instead of another fruitur.

11 Turpione Ambivio: In prose of the good period the order was praenomen-nomen and praenomen-nomen-cognomen, even in Livy; but when the praenomen is wanting, then by the older method, so Cicero, cognomen-nomen; by later, so Caesar, nomen-cognomen.

Lūcius Ambivius Turpiō: the actor whose *grex* performed all the plays of Terence, if we can trust the Prologues. He was an old man at the time of the first representation of the *Heautontimorumenos*, i.e. b.c. 163 (*Heaut.* prol. 43, cf. *Hecyr.* prol. 10 sq.). Tacitus in *Dialogus de Oratoribus* ch. 20, speaks of him and Roscius as representatives of the old-fashioned and severe style of acting.

12 in primā caveā: in the front of the auditorium, i.e. in the front row of seats. The orchestra was the level space in front of the stage, the cavea was the entire auditorium divided into cunei, wedge-shaped sections, by flights of stairs and by praecinctiones, concentric aisles or landing places. Prima, media, ultima or ima, media, summa were the designations of the different parts assigned to the three classes of citizens. In Cato's day there were no permanent theatres, so that we have here an instance of anachronism, as the statements seem to refer to the theatres of Cicero's day.

 $spectat := \theta \epsilon \hat{a} \tau \alpha \iota$, is a spectator.

delectatur tantum . . . quantum est: gets exactly the amount of pleasure which he ought to get.

13 propter: close by; adverbial use.

§ 49. l. 16 illa: standing for illud, as in Greek $\tau \alpha \hat{v} \tau \alpha$ and $\tau \acute{a} \delta \epsilon$ are often put for $\tau o \hat{v} \tau \sigma$ and $\tau \acute{b} \delta \epsilon$ (Reid). Animum... vivere forms the explanation of the illa.

NOTES. • 133

ēmeritīs stīpendiīs: being discharged, as though from military service. From the time of the siege of Veii (about B.C. 406) the Roman soldiers received pay, and facere stipendia, merere stipendia came to mean 'to serve in a campaign.' When a man had served twenty campaigns in a legion, he became emeritus.

18 sēcum esse sēcumque vivere: to be independent and live to yourself, as the phrase goes. In De Off. 1, 2, 4, we find tecum or secum agere, to be independent, opposed to cum altero contrahere, where Holden quotes Verg. G. 1, 389, et sola in sieca secum spatiatur harena.

19 vivere: in this and such phrases vivere indicates that true enjoyment or use of life which is interrupted by worldly affairs. Cf. quod me cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem, faciam

quidem, sed quando vivemus? Ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 12.

22 Galus: Gaius Sulpicius Galus was consul in B.c. 166. He was devoted to the study of Greek literature, and was an accomplished orator and man of letters (Brut. § 78). Among other things he was deeply versed in astronomy or astrology. Cicero (De Rep. 1, 14, 21) represents him as explaining the celestial globe, which was the only thing Marcellus accepted from the spoils of Syracuse. Galus once averted a panic in the Roman army in the war against Perseus (Pydna 168), for he warned the soldiers on the previous day of an eclipse of the moon and instructed them that it was only a natural event. (Livy, 45, 37.)

23 aliquid describere: to draw some astronomical chart, the technical term for making mathematical drawings; cf. De Fin.

5, 19, 50.

24 oppressit: surprised.

§ 50. l. 1 acūtis: curiously applied by a transfer of application to *studia*, and explained as pursuits which demand keenness of intellect. Reid believes Cicero wrote *acribus*, quoting *De Oratore*, 1, 79, *studium acerrimum*.

2 bello suo Pūnico: in his poem on the Punic War.

3 Plautus: Titus Maccius Plautus, the famous writer of comedies. He was born in B.C. 254 at Sarsina in Umbria, and according to Cicero (Brut. § 60) he died at Rome in 184, eleven years after the birth of Terence. He was somewhat younger than Livius Andronicus (Tusc. 1, 1, 3), and was an old man in 190, when the Pseudolus was exhibited. He was free but poor,

and had to work in a mill for his living, and wrote and sold his plays to the *aediles* in the intervals of his work. There are twenty of his plays in existence, which are all (except one, Vidularia, now lost) that Cicero's contemporary Varro allowed to be genuine, though at one time as many as 130 were attributed to him (Aulus Gell. 3, 3). Like those of the other comic writers before and after him at Rome, his plays were translated or adapted from the Greek of the authors of the New Comedy at Athens, Menander, Diphilus, and Philemon; or sometimes, according to Horace ($Ep.\ 2$, 1, 58), from the writers of the Old Comedy, such as Epicharmus. Varro said of him, 'The muses if they spoke Latin would use the language of Plautus' ($Quint.\ 10,\ 1,\ 99$). See Hor., $Ars\ P.\ 270$.

2 Truculentus: i.e. the Grumbler, \ Titles of plays of

3 **Pseudolus**: i.e. the *Cheat*, | Plautus.

Livium: Livius Andronicus (it seems doubtful whether his praenomen was Marcus or Lucius) was a native of Tarentum born about the year B.C. 283. When Tarentum was captured in 275, he was brought as a slave to Rome, but afterwards set free by some Livius (perhaps M. Livius Salinator), and took as usual the name of his patronus. Tarentum was a Greek town, and Livius found means of supporting himself at Rome by teaching Greek. He published a translation of the Odussey in the Saturnian metre, which Cicero (Brut. § 71) declares to be unworthy of a second reading; and also is said to have been the first to weave the rude Saturae or medley songs into the form of a play. He afterwards translated Greek plays, an example in which he was followed by other poets, though his own plays, Cicero says, were not worth reading a second time. We hear also of his composing a hymn to Juno to be recited or sung by twentyseven virgins in a procession, in consequence of some prodigies which occurred in 207; which hymn Livy says was 'perhaps commendable at that rude age, but in our day would be regarded as irregular and unsuitable' (27, 37). He died about 203.

5 docuisset: had brought on the stage. The meaning is obtained through the custom of teaching the actors the play.

Centone Tuditanoque: note the que for the usual et which is found regularly when only the cognomina occur in the dating formula. C. Claudius Cento, son of Appius Claudius Caecus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus were consuls B.c. 240.

6 processit aetate: continued to live. aetate is ablative of specification; cf. aetate provehi, § 10; progredi, § 33; procedere, without aetate, § 70.

7 pontificii et civilis iūris: see on § 38.

8 huius P. Scipionis: of the present Publius Scipio.

Pūblius Cornēlius Scīpiō Nāsīca Corculum: was the son of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who in B.C. 203 was charged by the Senate as optimus vir to receive the Magna Mater, and grandson of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who fell in Spain. He was consul in 172, but resigned because there had been a flaw in the auspices. He was censor in 159, and in his second consulship, 155, served successfully against the Illyrians. From the text we learn that he was elected pontifex max. in 150. His great knowledge of jurisprudence gained him the distinguishing cognomen of Corculum (the cor being regarded as the seat of intellect). He was besides an eloquent speaker (Brut. § 79).

8 his paucis diebus: within the last few days. The office of pontifex maximus or head of the College of Pontifices, was one of great dignity, and generally filled by the leading statesman at the time when the vacancy occurred. There was a residence attached to it close to that of the Vestal Virgins, over whom he

had control.

10 senēs: when old men.

11 M. Cethēgum: Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, consul in B.C. 204, was one of the earliest public men who obtained reputation as an orator. Cicero speaks of him thus in Brutus, 15, 57: primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor et idoneus quidem mea sententia Q. Ennius praesertim cum et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo. He was elected to the College of Pontiffs in 213, and was praetor in 211. Etruria was assigned to him in his consulship, where he prevented uprisings in favor of Carthage by terrifying the Etruscan nobles into flight. The year after his consulship (203) he served as proconsul in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls, near Milan, where he met and defeated Hannibal's brother Mago (Livy, 30, 18). Cethegus died in 196. He is classed by Horace with Cato as affording a standard for the Latinity of that epoch. (Ep. 2, 2, 117; A. P. 50.)

Suādae medullam: the quintessence (marrow) of persuasiveness. In Brutus, 15, 58, Cicero gives a fuller quotation.

is dictust ollis popularibus olim Qui tum vivebant homines atque aevum agitabant, Flos delibatus populi suadaeque medulla.

He thus explains the phrase "Suadaeque medulla," Brutus, 15, 59: πειθώ quam vocant Graeci, cuius effector est orator, hanc Suadam appellavit Ennius; eius autem Cethegum medullam fuisse vult, ut, quam deam in Pericli labris scripsit Eupolis sessitavisse, huius hic medullam nostrum oratorem dixerit. According to Cicero, Ennius also speaks thus: Additur orator Cornelius suaviloquenti Ore Cethegus Marcus Tuditano conlega Marci filius.

12 exercērī: reflexive like the Greek middle; see gram. ref.

15 comparandae: In negative sentences or in questions looking for a negative answer, and in conditional clauses the gerundive may have force of possibility.

18 illud Solonis: note the article force of illud; that well-

known expression of Solon is of honor to him.

19 ut ante dīxī: in § 26.

CHAPTER XV.

 \S 51. 1.3 ad sapientis vitam: to the ideal life of a philosopher.

4 Habent enim rationem: For they (agricolae) have an

account with. A commercial expression.

5 imperium: for same idea, cf. Verg. Georg. 1, 99, atque imperat agris; 2, 369, dura exerce imperia; Tac. Germ. 26, sola terrae seges imperatur.

6 sed aliās . . . plērumque: an affirmative statement is implied from the preceding negative clause; i.e. semper cum faenore. The coördination alias . . . alias is varied by Cicero as here: alias . . . plerumque; again tum alias interdum . . . alias.

7 Quamquam: see on etsi, § 29.

9 vīs āc nātūra: a common collocation in Cic., explained by some as hendiadys, the natural force.

Quae: i.e. Et ea.

11 occaecātum: hidden; caecus and surdus have double application, not seeing and not seen; not hearing and not heard.

occaecatum . . . occātiō: the two words are not connected in derivation as Cato suggests. occaecatum (caecus) = hidden; occatio, 'harrowing,' from occa, 'a harrow,' connected with acuo, root ak-.

12 vapore et compressu suo: by its natural heat and pres-

sure.

13 herbescentem viriditatem: the green blade starting, the abstract viriditas standing for viridis herba: just the converse of the process by which in Vergil e.g. (Ec. 1, 53), frigus opacum stands for frigida opacitas.

14 nīxa fibrīs stirpium: supported by the fibres of the stems;

cf. Pliny, N. H. 19, 33, tubera nullis fibris nixa.

1 culmo erecta geniculato: held upright by its jointed

stalk.

vāgīnīs: sheaths, which enclose the ear. Cp. Varro, R. R. 1, 48, 3, quae primitus cum oriuntur neque plane apparent, qua sub latent herba, ea vocatur vagina, ut in qua latet conditum gladium.

3 fundit: produces; cf. Tusc. 5, 37, neque est ullum, quod non ita vigeat interiore quodam motu . . . ut aut fruges fundat

aut bacas.

spīcī: with ordine structam. Reid construes with frugem.

(On the various operations in propagating and cultivating the vine, information will be found in Cato, R. R. chs. 32, 33; Varro, R. R. 1, 8; Pliny, N. H. 17, 152-198 [where he quotes the passage from Cato]. Many passages from ancient and modern authors on the subject are collected, with characteristic thoroughness, by Dr. Holden in his notes to Xenophon, Oeconomicus, 19, 9.)

§ 52. 1.5 Quid ego commemorem: transition formula; cf.

§§ 53, 57.

ortus, satus, incrementa: the raising, the planting, and the growth. The plural used, as in magisteria, § 46, in general statements.

6 ut noscātis: cf. ne . . . videar, § 46. See gram. ref.; the governing clause is to be supplied.

8 vim ipsam: the simple fact of their natural vigor. The perpetual miracle, as it has been called, of growth.

omnium . . . ē terrā: Latin has no one word to comprehend all vegetable products. (Reid.)

9 quae . . . procreet: capable of generating; subjunctive of characteristic.

12 malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, vivirādicēs, propaginēs: These are all technical terms for the various methods of raising vines. malleoli, mallet shoots, vine-shoots cut with a head or knob and planted in some well-watered ground; cf. Pliny, N. H. 17, 170, solebat capitulatus utrimque e duro surculus seri, eoque argumento malleolus vocatur etiam nunc. ib. 156, male in siccis malleolus seritur nisi post imbrem. plantae, shoots or slips set out in a nursery (seminarium); Pliny, N. H. 17, 75. plantas ex seminario transferre. sarmenta are cuttings taken when the vine is pruned; cf. Pliny, l.c. nihil seritur nisi inutile et deputatum in sarmenta. vīvirādīcēs, quicksets are any of these which, having been planted out in a nursery, have taken root. They are then transplanted into the vineyard; cf. Cato. R. R. 32, sulcos interponito ibi vivas radices serito. propagines, layers, shoots of the tree bent down and laid in the ground, and only severed from the parent tree when they have struck; cf. Cato, R. R. 133, propagatio pomorum ceterarumque arborum: arboribus ab terra pulli qui nati erunt eos in terram deprimito, extollito, uti radicem capere possint: inde, ubi tempus erit, effodito seritoque recte. Pliny says that Nature herself pointed this out, for brambles and such trees will, if left to themselves, thus propagate, rubi namque curvati gracilitate et simul proceritate nimia defigunt rursus in terram capita, iterumque nascuntur ex sese repleturi omnia ni resistat cultura. This method, though used with other fruit trees, was particularly good with vines, melius propagine vites respondent, Verg. G. 2, 63. Xenophon compares a layer thus placed in the ground to a reversed Gamma (γάμμα ὕπτιον).

14 Vītis quidem, quae nātūrā cadūca est et, nisi fulta, etc.: Pliny enumerates five methods of treating vines (N. H. 17, 164):

1. When the tendrils are allowed to straggle along the ground. In this case those which seemed fruitful were lifted up and supported by forked sticks (furcillae): eo modo removetur a terra vitis quae ostendit se adferre uvam; sub eam, ubi nascitur uva, subiciuntur circiter bipedales e surculis furcillae, Varro, R. R. 1, 8.

2. When the vine stands without support at all, which Pliny says only happened from lack of materials (pedamenti inopia).

3. When each vine has a single and separate support (adminiculum), but there is no trellis-work or iugatio.

4. When the vines were planted in a row with uprights joined by a support (iugum) running along. This was sometimes called canterius (lit., "beast of burden"), or iugatio directa.

5. When four or more vines were trained over a kind of framework or arbor (iugo quadruplici). This was called iugatio compluviata, from the compluvium or roof of a house with a central opening looking down into the impluvium; cf. Varro, R. R. 1, 8, 2, iugationis species duae, una directa, ut in agro Canusino, altera compluviata in longitudinem et latitudinem iugata ut in Italia peraeque. A good engraving of this sort of iugatio from a picture at Pompeii is given in Rich's Companion to the Latin Dictionary. The materials of which the trelliswork was made differed in different places. We hear of wooden poles, reeds, ropes, and withes of the vines. (Compare Pliny, N. H. 17, 166 with Varro, R. R. 1, 8, 2.)

15 fertur: middle in force.

eadem: brings up the subject to its verb.

16 clāviculīs: tendrils.
18 errāticō: running wild.

ars agricolarum: abstract for concrete.

§ 53. 1. 20 in eis: sc. sarmentis.

quae relicta sunt: which are left after pruning; cf. Cato, R. R. 32, arbores hoc modo putentur, rami uti divaricentur quos relinques; et uti recte caedantur, et ne nimium crebri relinquantur.

21 exsistit: springs un.

tamquam ad articulos: at what one may call the joints. Cicero uses tamquam with words employed in a metaphorical or unusual sense. But in this case it is scarcely necessary, for articulus is the ordinary word for the knots or joints in a cutting; cf. Pliny, N. H. 17, 160, satos malleolos... recidere ad imum articulum.

22 ea, quae: obtain their gender by attraction from gemma. Cf. illud, § 35.

gemma: bud or eye, which Pliny calls an oculus and Xenophon (Oecon. 19, 10) $\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\delta s$. This is the original meaning, and not, as Cicero thought, gem, or jewel. Cf. Orat. 81, De Oratore, 3, 155.

25 nec...et: the Latin uses que, et, or ac to connect an affirmative with a preceding negative proposition when the thought is continued.

1 defendit: keeps off.

2 fructu . . . aspectu: ablatives of specification.

3 ütilitäs: its profitableness to man.

4 nātūra ipsa: the natural phenomena which it presents. adminiculorum ordines: the rows of uprights; for the trellis-work, see above on § 52.

5 capitum iugātiō: for the meaning of iugatio see on § 52. Most editors refer capitum to the tops of the adminicula or uprights. G. Long (with whom I agree) explains it of the tops of the vines. Cato, R. R. 33, 4, seems to use capita as equiva-

lent to 'plants.' Cf. also Verg. G. 2, 355.

religātiō: the binding of the vine to the trellis. In the case of young vines, tying had to be carefully attended to in order to prevent the stalks' being broken,—Cato, R. R. 33, vineas novellas alligato crebro ne caules perfringantur. Id. quae iam in perticam ibit eius pampinos teneros alligato leviter. Id. ubi uwa varia fieri coeperit, vites subligato. In the case of old vines it was to prevent straggling: Id. vitem bene nodatam deligato recte, flexuosa uti ne sit susum vorsum semper ducito quod eius poteris. Cf. Pliny, N. H. 17, 180 . . . tunc mergi adligarique, ut sustineatur iugo, non pendeat; vinculo mox adstrictius a tertia gemma adligari, quoniam et sic coercetur impetus materiae, densioresque citra pampini exsultant: cacumen religari vetant. It took place after the pruning, Verg. G. 2, 416, iam vinctae vites iam falcem arbusta reponunt.

propagatio vitium: propagation by layers (pro-pango). See

above, § 52.

7 immissiō: The meaning of this rare word is not quite plain. It has generally been explained as allowing to grow ('Wachsenlassen,' Unger), referring to the shoots spared by the pruning knife (see § 53, quae relicta sunt, etc.); it might therefore be translated setting. But Harper's Lat. Lex. explains it of grafting, for which the regular word is insitio. The former explanation seems more reasonable, as we have had no mention of grafting, and so important a subject would scarcely be brought in thus casually.

8 repastinātiones: continual turning-up of the ground, the

NOTES. 141

generalizing plural. **pastinum**, 'a two-pronged fork,' pitch-fork. Cf. Pliny, N. H. 17, 169, solo spisso non nisi repastinato nec nisi viviradicem seri.

§ 54. 10 Dixi in eō librō: Cato's book De R? Rustica or De Agri Cultura contains many rules for making and using manure, as in c. xxviii. where he orders the farmer to divide his manure into halves, one to be used for the corn land, the other to be divided between the trees and the meadow land. Again, in cc. xxxvi.-vii. he gives rules for the particular manure which is best for its several uses. In c. lxi he says 'What is the first thing in agriculture? Good ploughing. What second? Ploughing. What third? Manuring.'

11 doctus Hēsiodus: a fixed epithet of poets.

12 cum dē cultūrā agrī scrīberet: though he wrote, i.e. in the "Εργα και 'Ημέραι, a kind of poetical farmer's guide.

14 fuit: = vixit; see § 21.

Lāertēn: father of Odysseus (Ulysses), who is represented in the *Odyssey*, 24, 226, as living in retirement and cultivating a farm in his son's kingdom, the Island of Ithaca, while Odysseus is absent at Troy and on his subsequent wanderings.

lenientem: trying to subdue the grief which he was feeling

from the absence of his son. Cf. note on dividenti, § 11.

15 eum stercorantem: Homer (Odyss. 24, 226) says nothing about Laertes' manuring the earth; he says that he was $\lambda \iota \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon \dot{\nu} \circ \nu \tau \alpha \phi \nu \tau \dot{\sigma} \nu$, i.e. digging about the plants with a $\lambda \iota \sigma \tau \rho \sigma \nu$ ($\lambda \iota \sigma \sigma \sigma s$, $\lambda \epsilon \dot{\epsilon} \sigma s$), something of the same sort as the pastinum mentioned on 1.8. But Cicero is probably quoting from memory; and the two operations of breaking the ground around plants and dunging them go together: cf. Cato, R. R. 29, si ibi olea erit simul ablaqueato stercusque addito.

19 consitiones: planting in rows or in borders.

20 insitiones: grafting. Cato (R. R. 40) gives directions for grafting of various trees, which he says ought to be performed in the spring and in the afternoon, luna silenti (cf. Verg. Aen. 2, 255, tacitae per amica silentia lunae, but Pliny, N. H. 17, 111, reads luna sitiente, 'in dry weather' (?)), and when there is no south wind blowing. For the two operations, cf. alia genera quam plurima serito aut inserito (R. R. 7).

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 55. 1. 4 provectus sum: I have been carried away.

- 5 nē ab omnibus eam vitiīs videar vindicāre: that I may not be thought to assert its freedom from all faults. For construction see § 46, § 52. (1) 'to assert a claim to,' hence, 'to assert any one's freedom from another,' Scipio rempublicam ex dominatu T. Gracchi in libertatem vindicavit, De Cl. Or. 212. ab ignotissimo Phryge nobilissimum civem vindicare, Pro Flac. 40. Hence in a moral sense, sapientia a libidinum impetu nos vindicat, De Fin. 1, 46. Hence the legal terms vindiciae 'a claim' and vindicta 'manumission.' vindicare = (2) 'to punish' or 'exact vengeance for,' T. Gracchi conatus perditos vindicavit, De Off. 1, 109; vindicare facinus, Pro Q. 28; or 'to declare worthy of punishment,' quae vindicaris in altero tibi fugienda sunt, Verr. 3, 4.
 - 6 in hāc vītā: in this kind of life, i.e. in agriculture.
- 8 Cūius quidem ego vīllam contemplāns, etc.: cf. Plutarch, Cat. 2. 'Now near Cato's own farm was the cottage that had belonged to Manius Curius who had celebrated three triumphs. He often walked to this cottage and contemplated the smallness of the farm and the meanness of the dwelling-house; and he thought on the man's character, who after becoming the most famous man in Rome, after subduing the most warlike tribes, after having driven Pyrrhus from Italy, and after celebrating three triumphs, used to dig this little farm with his own hand and live in this cottage. And how that it was there that, as he sat by his fireside boiling his turnips, the envoys of the Samnites found him and offered him a large sum of gold: to whom he answered "that a man who could be content with such a dinner wanted no gold; and that he thought it a more honorable thing to conquer those who had gold." Cato considering these things used to return and look over his own farm, his servants, and house, add to his labor and economize in all unnecessary expenditures.'

9 ā mē: i.e. a mea villa; cf. the use of apud with the pro-

noun, § 3.

§ 56. 1.15 Poteratne...non efficere: could it fail to render. 16 Sed venio ad: cf. note on redeo ad, § 32.

18 L. Quinctio Cincinnātō: the story is that in B.C. 458, when the Roman army was in danger from the Aequians, Cincinnatus was summoned while engaged in ploughing to become dictator. He ended the war in sixteen days. Again in 439 he served his country on a similar call (Livy, 3, 26); thus he is said to have been dictator twice, although Cicero refers to only one occasion.

1 dictatorem esse factum: we expect dicere rather than facere, as the dictator was nominated by the consul, not elected.

2 cūius dictātōris iūssū: by whose command when dictator. The dictator, nominated by a consul on the command of the Senate, immediately superseded the authority of all other magistrates, and his first act was to nominate a magister equitum, to be second in command to himself.

3 Gāius Servilius Ahāla: Gaius Servilius Structus Ahala, master of the horse to the dictator Cincinnatus in B.C. 440, by whose order he summoned Spurius Maelius, and on the latter's attempting to escape killed him. (Livy, 4, 14.) According to Cicero (*Pro Dom.* § 86) he was condemned for this by a vote of the centuries, and went into exile, but was afterwards restored to his full rights. Livy, however, asserts that though an attempt was made by a tribune called also Spurius Maelius to prosecute him, the attempt failed (4, 21). Marcus Brutus, the assassin of Caesar, claimed to be descended from Ahala, whom Cicero often mentions (especially after Caesar's murder) with admiration as the slaver of a tyrant. See *Phil.* 2, § 26 and 87.

Sp. Maelium: Spurius Maelius, an eques of great wealth, attempted by largesses of corn to relieve the poor at Rome, who were suffering from a famine in B.C. 440-439, and was accordingly accused by the patricians of aiming at kingly power. Cincinnatus was created dictator, and sent his master of the horse to summon Spurius to answer the charge. He sought the protection of his partisans, and appealed to the people; but was followed and slain by Ahala. This is Livy's story (4, 13-15), which is the same as that which Cicero knew and often referred to.

adpetentem: here causal in force.

4 occupātum interēmit: surprised and killed; the notion conveyed by occupatum is that of his being taken off his guard, when engaged in his attempt. According to Livy (4, 14) Ahala killed Maelius in the midst of an appeal to a crowd among whom

he had taken refuge, — haec eum vociferantem assecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat. The participle is in place of a temporal clause.

6 viātōrēs: summoners. These attendants were one of the classes of apparitores who waited on magistrates in Rome. They were organized in corporations. Lictores and scribae formed other classes of apparitores.

7 agri cultione: see more common expression below, cultura agrorum.

8 haud sciō an: I rather think; cf. § 74, incertum an = possibly.

9 officio: opposed to delectatione, etc., referring to the prac-

tical side, i.e. practical benefit.

12 ad cultum etiam deōrum: because fruits and victims were offered to the gods. Cato's treatise has also many rules for divine worship. When the master comes home, the first thing he does is larem familiarem salutare (c. 2); he is to be the priest in his own establishment, scito dominum pro tota familia rem divinam facere (c. 143). The treatise also contains minute directions for the purification of the fields by a suovitaurilia (c. 141); for appeasing the country gods on disturbing a lucus (c. 139); for offerings to Silvanus in behalf of the oxen (c. 83), and other such matters.

13 ut ... redeāmus: this is absolute, to become reconciled with. The governing clause must be supplied; cf. § 46, ne ... videar (Gram. Ref.), where we find similar construction and similar sentiment, and § 52.

quīdam: those who bring the third charge against old age. 14 in grātiam redeāmus: that we may become reconciled.

15 Semper enim . . . locuplēs est: Cato puts forward as the great benefit of agriculture its pius quaestus stabilissimusque (R. R. 1); and he lays special stress on the necessity for the personal presence and attention of the paterfamilias, the bonus assiduusque dominus of the text. When he comes to his country place he is to go round and examine everything, to inspect the work done, the state of the slaves, the accounts of the bailiff (vilicus), the register of the vineyard and oliveyard, the flocks, the implements, and the wool. If he does this frequently, fundus melior erit, minus peccabitur, fructi plus capies. Frons occipitio prior est (R. R. 3-4).

17 porco . . . gallinā: taken collectively.

18 Iam hortum . . . appellant: moreover, farmers themselves speak of their garden as their second flitch, i.e. that which they have in reserve. Cato (quoted by Gellius 13, 25) uses succidiae in the sense of 'murder.' Varro (L. L. 5, 110) supposes it to be composed of sus, caedo, because the pig was the first animal killed and salted. But it seems more likely that being derived from sub and caed it is opposed to hostia praecidanea, 'the victim offered before a religious rite.' Cato, R. R. 134. Gellius, 4, 6.

19 Conditiora facit haec: gives these employments a relish;

cf. condīta, § 10.

20 supervacāneis operis aucupium atque vēnātiō: fowling and hunting by the use of time free from routine work, i.e. by means of labor that is over and above the ordinary toil of the farm. Cicero defines supervacaneus as usum non habens (N. D. 1, 100).

§ 57. 1. 23 Brevī praecīdam: sc. sermonem, cf. Ad Her. 4. 67, si cum incipimus aliquid dicere praecidimus. Acad. 2, 133,

praecide, inquit, statue aliquando quidlibet.

24 usu...ornātius: ablative of specification. See n.xiv. § 53. ad quem fruendum: this construction of fruendus with an accusative is perhaps a survival of the usage, which Plautus, Terence, and the older writers followed, of construing fungor, fruor, utor, etc., with either accusative or ablative. Thus Cato, R. R. 143, writes vicinas aliasque mulieres quam minimum utatur. In the later writers the usage seems confined to the gerund, thus Ovid, Ep. 1, 50, writes virque carendus abest, and Ep. 20, 118, servetur facies ista fruenda mihi.

3 salubrius: with greater regard for health.

§ 58. 1.4 Sibi habeant: sc. adulescentes; let the young by

all means keep.

5 clavam et pilam: the single-stick and ball. The clava was a wooden sword or club used in the sham fight with a palus or post set up to represent an adversary. (See Becker's Gall. p. 404.) The pila is put generally for several games of ball; for which see Becker, l.c. Plautus (Bacch. 3, 3, 24) enumerates these various forms of exercise with others:

Ibi cursu, luctando, hasta, disco, pugilatu, pila, saliendo sese exercebant.

5 natātionēs atque cursūs: the swimming bath and the running path. Old men, as in the sentence above, will still enjoy the refreshment of the cold bath; but swimming in the open bath or pond may be left to the young. Cursus refers to the common mode of exercise before plunging into the swimming bath. (Dr. Reid emends natationes by venationes; but it will be noticed that Cato is enumerating the various forms of exercise, especially those taken just before the bath. Venatio is a country pursuit followed partly for exercise, indeed, but more for sport or the actual game obtained (§ 56), and is hardly in place here; though Laelius de Am. 74 would seem to favor it).

6 tālōs et tesserās: dice; both words describe a particular kind of dice used in playing alea, representing the Greek $a\sigma\tau\rho\dot{a}\gamma a\lambda o\iota$ and $\kappa\dot{\nu}\beta o\iota$ respectively. Tali were marked on four faces 1 and 6, and 3 and 4, the other two being somewhat curved, and four were used in playing. Tesserae were like our modern dice, and three were employed in a game. See Becker's Gallus, p. 499, and Smith's Dict. of Antiq. It was a game entirely of chance, cf. Quid enim sors est? idem prope modum, quod micare, quod talos iacere, quod tesseras, quibus in rebus temeritas et casus. non ratio nec consilium valet. De Div. 2, 85.

7 id ipsum ut lubēbit: nay, even that is just as they please. (The old reading utrum for ut was unintelligible. Dr. Reid conjectured ut, in which he had been anticipated by Henry Allen (Dublin, 1852), who is followed by G. Long. It appears also to be the reading of more than one Ms.) Sc. faciant.

CHAPTER XVII.

§ 59. 1. 9 **Xenophontis librī**: Xenophon, besides writing history, wrote smaller works on domestic economy, $Oi\kappa o \nu o \mu \iota \kappa \delta s$; on horses, $\pi \epsilon \rho l$ ' $I\pi \pi \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} s$, and on hunting, $K \nu \nu \eta \gamma \epsilon \tau \iota \kappa \delta s$.

10 ut facitis: cf. Cic. Tusc. 2, 26, 62. Itaque semper Afri-

canus Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat.

11 quī . . . quī: the first relative clause is parenthetical, hence no connective.

12 **Oeconomicus**: 'the economist,' the man skilled in domestic economy, the management of an estate (olikos).

15 cum Critobulo: the dialogue 'Oeconomicus' professes to

be a report by Xenophon of a conversation which he heard between Socrates and Critobulus. The passage, of which Cicero gives an abbreviated translation, is as follows (Oecon. 4, 20-25):

οὖτος τοίνυν ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται Λυσάνδρω, ὅτε ἦλθεν ἄγων αὐτώ τὰ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δῶρα, ἄλλα τε Φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, ... καὶ τὸν έν Σάρδεσι παράδεισον επιδεικνύναι αὐτὸν έφη. επεί δε εθαύμαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Λύσανδρος ὡς καλὰ μὲν τὰ δένδρα εἴη, δι' ἴσου δὲ πάντα πεφυτευμένα, όρθοι δε οι στίχοι των δενδρων, εὐγώνια δε πάντα καλώς είη, όσμαι δε πολλαί και ήδειαι συμπαρομαρτοίεν αὐτοίς περιπατούσι, καὶ ταύτα θαυμάζων εἶπεν · ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ὧ Κύρε, πάντα μέν ταῦτα θαυμάζω ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄγαμαι τοῦ καταμετρήσαντός σοι και διατάξαντος έκαστα τούτων. ἀκούσαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κῦρον ἡσθῆναί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν · ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὧ Λύσανδρε. έγω πάντα καλ διεμέτρησα καλ διέταξα, έστι δ' αὐτών, α καλ έφύτευσα αὐτός, καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔφη, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ ίδων των τε ίματίων το κάλλος ών είχε και της όσμης αισθόμενος και των στρεπτων και των ψελίων το κάλλος και τοῦ άλλου κόσμου οδ είγεν, είπειν. . . . Δικαίως μοι δοκείς, δ Κύρε, εὐδαίμων είναι άγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ὰνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς.

13 ut intellegātis: there is an ellipsis of the governing clause, as 'I say this that.' See note on ut redeamus, § 56.

regale: worthy of a king. Regale = quod regem decet, regiun = quod regis est, i.e. characteristic of kings. — Meissner.

15 Critobūlus, son of Criton, being addicted to pleasure and extravagance, was commended by his father to Socrates, that he might be cured of these vices by his teaching. He became a most devoted follower of Socrates, and was with him at his death. See Holden on Xen. Oecon. 1, 2.

Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem: Cyrus the Younger, prince of the Persians. The younger son of Darius II (Nothus) was invested by his father with the provincial government or satrapy of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia in B.C. 408-7, for the express purpose of taking energetic measures against Athens, a task which he carried on with energy for three years, supporting the Lacedaemonians with money and other aids. In 404, at the death of Darius, Artaxerxes, his brother, succeeded to the throne. Thereupon Cyrus collected a large army,

and in 401 started for Babylon to seize the Persian throne. He met his brother at Cunaxa on the Euphrates and fell in battle. The Greek mercenaries who had really been the actors in the battle escaped under the command of Xenophon to the shore of the Black Sea at Trapezus, whence they returned to Greece. Xenophon, in *Anabasis*, 1, 9, describes Cyrus as a man of extraordinary talent and industry even from boyhood.

17 Lysander: a Spartan who was navarchus in B.C. 404, when he destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami. He was the son of Aristodicus, a man of good family but of small means. He did not become conspicuous until the second half of the Peloponnesian War, i.e. after 415; but his movements after that time about the coast of Asia, his friendship with Cyrus, and the respect which his vigor and honesty inspired among the allies, contributed much to the fall of Athens. After Aegospotami he sailed leisurely to Athens and blockaded the Piraeeus. In a few months he reduced it to surrender, and compelled the citizens to allow the long walls to be pulled down. It was under his influence that the Thirty Tyrants were set up in Athens, and if he had not been thwarted by the Spartan king he would in all probability have defeated the patriotic party in the Piraeeus, who under Thrasybulus drove the Thirty out. He fell in battle at Haliartus fighting against the Thebans, in 395. Xen. Hell. 2, 2 and 3, 15, 16. See Plutarch's Life of Lysander.

18 Sardis: accusative plural, denoting limit of motion.

1 communem atque hūmānum: affable and polite, Cicero's paraphrase of $\phi\iota\lambda o\phi\rho o\nu\epsilon i\sigma\theta a\iota$. Communem has been corrected to comem in some Mss. and editions. But communem conveys better the idea of a superior putting himself on a level with an inferior, cf. Laelius de Am. § 65; and the confusion between the two words is naturally frequent in abbreviated writing. See for an instance Ter. Heaut. 412.

2 quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum: a paraphrase of the one Greek word $\pi a \rho a \delta \delta \epsilon \iota \sigma o \nu$, which Xenophon introduced from the East to describe the parks and pleasure grounds of Asia.

4 proceritates: plural of abstract noun, because of the several trees. Cf. such an expression as adventus imperatorum, the arrival(s) of the generals.

5 derectos in quincuncem ordines: the rows of trees arranged

in the quincunx. In original meaning quincunx = quinque—unciae, i.e. five-twelfths of any unit. Cicero translates freely the Greek $\delta\rho\theta$ ol of $\sigma\tau$ i χ ol and $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\gamma\dot{\omega}\nu$ la $\pi\dot{\omega}\nu$ ra by the idea of arrangement for trees prevalent in Italy. The quincunx was the arrangement of three rows so that the trees fell into groups of five:

* * * * * * * * *

Vergil (G. 2, 279 sq.) compares it to the method of arranging cohorts on the field of battle, the *triplex acies* of Caesar.

9 dimensa: the deponent dimetior has a pass. participle.

Cf. adeptam, § 4 and note.

12 istārum arborum: of the trees you see before you.

14 aurō multīsque gemmīs: ablatives of characteristic. The Persians wore gold bracelets and necklaces. The dead bodies cast ashore after the battle of Salamis were $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\iota\iota$ $\psi\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ $\chi\rho\nu\sigma\hat{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\sigma\iota$, Plut. Themist. 18; and the ornatus Persicus, by which Cicero translates $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\iota\mu\alpha\tau\iota\omega\nu$ $\tau\hat{\delta}$ $\kappa\hat{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\delta\sigma$, was proverbial in Rome. So, when he wishes to describe a gorgeous feast, Horace says (C. 1, 38) Persicos odi, puer, apparatus, etc.

§ 60. 1.18 impedit: sc. nos. This omission is regular after

verbs of hindering with a quominus clause.

20 M. Valerium Corvīnum: Marcus Valerius Corvinus, consul B.C. 348, 346, 343, 335, 300, 299, dictator 342, 301. This remarkable man got his name of Corvinus from his contest with a huge Gaul, in which he was assisted by a crow, corvus, which flew in the face of his antagonist, 346, Livy, 7, 26. He commanded with success against the Volscians, Samnites, and Etruscans. In 300 he brought in a law which confirmed, under more stringent sanctions, the right of the Roman citizen to provocatio before suffering blows or death. According to Livy, 7, 25, he was twenty-three when first elected consul. His birth would therefore date in 372, and he would be in his seventy-fourth year in his sixth consulship. He lived nearly thirty years after this, dying about the year B.C. 267. Cicero miscalculates the number of years between his first and last consulship.

21 perduxisse: sc. studia agri colendi.

22 esset = viveret.

āctā iam aetāte: abl. absolute.

24 quantum spatium . . . voluērunt: at the age of forty-six a Roman was free from the obligation to military service, which began at seventeen. A man's age, therefore, was thus divided:

1-17 puer, 17-30 adulescens (30 was the quaestorian age), 30-45 invenis, 45-60 senior, 60- senex.

25 senectūtis initium: the aetas seniorum. Senectus is thus used in the general sense from forty-five years, while speaking exactly it began at sixty. See above and note, § 4.

1 cursus honorum: the period during which he held official positions. Marcus Valerius Corvus was consul for the first time in B.C. 348, and for the sixth time in 299. But in the latter year he was in office for part of the year only, being consul suffectus on the death of T. Manlius Torquatus. But if we take his last (or fifth) complete consulship in 300, Cicero's calculation will be exactly right. The cursus honorum here applies simply to the consulship. It regularly denotes the official career, i.e. the quaestorship, aedileship or tribunate of the plebs, praetorship, consulship. It had its widest application in the empire when it referred not only to the offices of the senatorial order, but to those of the equestrian order and those open to the plebs or lower class as well.

atque hūius... minus: the last part of his life was happier than the middle, because he had more influence and less labor; meaning, I suppose, that his last two consulships, when he was more than eighty-five, must have been more honorary than active.

3 apex: properly the twig bound with wool set in the cap of the flamines and salii. Here figuratively for the chief glory.

§ 61. 1.5 A. Atīliō Cālātīnō: Aulus Atilius Calatīnus was consul in B.C. 258 and 254, and dictator 249, censor 247. His cognomen means an inhabitant of Calatia in Campania. In his first consulship he fought against the Carthaginians in Sicily with some success. In his second consulship he captured Panormus. Cicero (De Rep. 1, 1, 1) classes him with Duellius and Lucius Metellus as having freed Rome from the terror of Carthage.

quanta: auctoritas.

in quem . . . ēlogium: in whose honor there exists this inscription; elogium is the term for a sepulchral honorary inscription or epitaph. Gk. $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ ov. Do not translate as

eulogy, which is laudatio.

6 plūrimae . . . virum: the tomb of Calatinus with this inscription was on the Appian Road, see Tusc. 1, 13, an tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos? In De Fin. 2, 116, the inscription begins Unum hunc, etc. It seems to have been a common formula on tombs. See the inscription on the tomb of Lucius Scipio, which begins Honc. oino. ploirume. consentiont. Romai. duonoro. optumo. fuise. viro. That is, Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optumum fuisse virum.

7 populi: construe with virum, not gentes.

carmen: the inscription. The old monumental inscriptions are in Saturnian verse, the old Italian metre, explained either (1) on the principle of quantity, or (2) on that of accentuation:

i.e. there are three theses in the first half and generally three in the second. Sometimes, too, in the latter case, there is an acrusis in the second half.

8 gravis: influential.

cūius de laudibus . . . esset: since he was one about whose praises.

9 esset consentiens: see note on agens aliquid, § 26.

Quem virum nuper P. Grassum: the order indicating the construction is vidimus P. Crassum, pontificem maximum (esse) quem virum. Vidimus is used, like verbs of naming, making, taking, choosing, showing, with two accusatives.

10 nuper: the meaning depends on the context, like words

in § 27.

11 M. Lepidum: M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul B.C. 187 and 175, pontifex maximus 180, censor 179, also princeps senatus for six times. He died 152.

12 Paulo: L. Aemilius Paulus.

13 Māximō: Q. Fabius Maximus, Cunctator, see §§ 10-12. sententiā... in nūtū: not only when they gave a formal vote or made a set speech in the Senate, but when by look or gesture showed their opinion.

15 honorata: having held public office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

§ 62. 1. 18 omnī: not tota, which would mean 'my speech as a whole.'

19 fundamentis adulescentiae: subject. gen., the foundations which youth lays. That is to say, the habits of youth which secured a healthy body and vigorous mind for age. Cf. § 29.

3 quae se oratione defenderet: if it required a speech in self-defence; i.e. if it did not justify itself by patent facts, and so require no defence. (Some have proposed to read canitie for oratione.) The tense is in accord with dixi—as is usual in Latin—and not with efficitur.

cānī: sc. capilli. Reid compares calda (sc. aqua), laurea

(sc. corona), natalis (sc. dies), Latinae (sc. feriae), etc.

4 repente: off-hand, without preparation; exactly in the same sense as that in which Terence uses the word when he says that people accused him of taking up play-writing without previous training, repente ad studium se adplicass: musicum. Ter. Haut. 23.

5 fructus auctoritatis: the genitive in apposition, the reward

which consists in influence.

§ 63. 1.7 levia atque commūnia: unimportant and commonplace. Communis is used in a different sense in § 59. Here it means what is shared in by all, and which therefore possesses no special or individual value.

8 dēcēdī adsurgī: to have place given on the road and to have people rise when you come into a room. Impersonal use.

deduci reduci: to be conducted to and from public places by friends and clients. Lahmeyer quotes Valer. Max. 2, 1, 9, iuvenes senatus die utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis exspectabant, donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur. See also Laelius de Am. § 12.

9 optimē morāta = cum optimis moribus. The mores of a

state are the unwritten habits and customs which accompany and cause good laws. So, in an individual, bene moratus is not only a good man, but one whose goodness is practically displayed in his habits. Cf. De Or. 3, 184, probus, bene moratus, et bonus vir.

12 Lacedaemonem: Sparta.

15 Quin etiam memoriae proditum est: I do not know where Cicero got this famous story. It reads as though he were translating. The contrast between the Spartans and Athenians in their treatment of the aged is referred to by Socrates in Xen. Mem. 3, 5, 15.

lūdīs: this ablative denotes the time. The games alluded to were those in honor of Athena, held every four years in July.

18 quī lēgātī cum essent, certō in locō consēderant: who as ambassadors had taken their seats in the place reserved for them. Special seats in the theatre at Athens were assigned as a mark of honor to various persons and for various reasons, and among others to foreign ambassadors. See the passages quoted by Liddell and Scott, s.v. $\pi \rho o \epsilon \delta \rho l a$.

§ 64. 1. 22 multiplex: again and again renewed.

22 dīxisse . . . quendam: the indirect discourse is interrupted at qui, but controls again in the next sentence. Dixisse is continued with proditum est.

23 in nostrō collēgiō: i.e. the college of augurs. That Cato was a member of the college is probable, though it is not mentioned by other authors.

25 antecēdit: sc. alios.

sententiae prīncipātum: the right of giving his vote first. In the Senate the consulares were asked for their sententiae in order of seniority, not strictly of age, but of office.

1 honore: i.e. as to office.

2 qui cum imperiō sunt: those who have imperium, i.e. those holding offices to which imperium is attached; i.e. consuls and praetors. Election to office by the centuries or tribes gave those elected potestas, the amount of which differed in the different offices. But imperium could only be bestowed by the formal vote of the comitia curiata, a vote which was only taken for the higher officers. A man thus armed was said cum imperio esse, or when actually engaged in administering the office in the city in imperio esse.

3 quae sunt voluptates . . . comparandae: what are the sensual pleasures which can be compared? etc. Cf. note on \S 50.

4 praemiis auctoritatis: the reward of influence, the reward which is personal influence, a genitive in apposition.

5 Quibus: sc. praemiis auctoritatis. Cf. § 60, ad fin.

6 fābulam aetātis: the drama of life. See § 5.

7 corruisse: to have broken down, and so be hissed off the stage (explosus).

histriones: histrio is from an Etruscan word hister, Latinized on the analogy of ludio, the earliest actors having been brought from Etruria. When the rough dances and songs of the early Roman stage were improved by the introduction of Greek plays, the actors were naturally often spoken of by a Greek name. Hence Cicero (Pro Rosc. Com. 30) contrasts a pessimus histrio with a bonus comoedus.

§ 65. 1. 9 At: see on §§ 21, 33, 35, 44, 47.

difficiles: cf. § 7, ad fin.

10 $\overline{\text{si}}$ quaerimus: if we seek the truth; colloquial, like if we really want to know.

morum: of character. Cf. § 7.

11 morositās: Cicero (Tusc. 4, 54) derives morosus from mores, which would give the idea of whimsical, humorous. Plautus (Trin. 3, 2, 43), after his manner, plays on the similarity of sound, amor mores hominum moros et morosos efficit.

12 habent aliquid excusationis: can offer a plea for them-

selves.

13 non illīus quidem iūstae: not indeed that it is a valid one. Cf. de morte Clodii fuit quaestio,—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta, Phil. 2, 22.

15 omnis offensio: any and every collision. Offensio is used

passively, a being struck.

odiosa: causes a feeling of annoyance. Cf. § 4.

17 bonis: with moribus and artibus. See note, § 1, on animitui.

artibus: accomplishments, such as are obtained by education

or training. See on § 9.

18 ex eis fratribus: of the two brothers who are the heroes of Terence's Adelphoe, i.e. the two old men Micio and Demea, the former representing the over-indulgent, the latter the stern and

harsh parent. Demea thus describes himself and his brother (Adelph. 864):

Ille (Micio) suam egit semper vitam in otio, in conviviis, Clemens, placidus, nulli laedere os, adridere omnibus:

Ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax.

19 diritās: harshness. Others read duritas, which, meaning cruelty, is extreme for Demea, described in preceding note.

comitas: the character of Micio shown in preceding note.

21 coacēscit: is converted into vinegar, or turns thoroughly sour. Cato (R. R. 108) gives a recipe for ascertaining whether wine will last, by boiling some with pearl barley: next morning si subacidum erit, non durabit.

Sevēritātem . . . acerbitātem : seriousness, sourness.

 \S 66. l. 2 avaritia senilis: avarice in an old man; perhaps as he has quoted the Adelphoe, he is thinking of these lines 5, 3, 48.

Ad omnia alia aetate sapimus rectius: Solum unum hoc vitium fert senectus hominibus: Adtentiores sumus ad rem omnes, quam sat est.

Cf. Thucyd. 2, 44, 5, $\tau \delta$ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ έν $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ ἀχρεί φ τῆς ἡλικίας $\tau \delta$ κερδαίνειν, ὤσπερ τινές φασι, μᾶλλον τέρπει ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι.

3 sibi velit: ethical dative, giving the sense what it means. For this use of volo, cf. amo in such a sentence as amat Ianua limen, the door remains constantly closed. Hor. C. 1, 25, 3.

CHAPTER XIX.

6 Quarta restat causa: cf. § 15, quartam (causam) quod

haud procul absit (senectus) a morte.

7 sollicitam habēre: for the stress laid on the 'maintenance of the result' by the use of *habere* with acc. of perf. participle passive, see gram. reference.

9 esse longe: here for abesse, which some read.

9 qui non viderit: | subjunctives of characteristic.

10 quae aut... aeternus: the two alternatives as to death, that it is 'annihilation,' and so not to be feared, or the beginning of 'eternal happiness,' and so to be desired, were discussed by Cicero in the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, written the year before this.

12 dēdūcit: cf. note § 63.

13 atqui refers to non viderit: and yet he ought to know that these are the only alternatives.

tertium: the third possibility, viz. that death is not annihilation but begins a life of pain, is dismissed by Cicero, Tusc. 1, § 10. Shakespeare hit the true cause of hesitation better in Hamlet, 3, 1:

'To die, to sleep;

To sleep; perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub; For in that sleep of death what dreams may come, When we have shuffled off this mortal coil, Must give us pause; there's the respect That makes calamity of so long life.'

§ 67. l. 1 non miser: to be taken closely together, either not miserable or happy.

3 quis est tam stultus . . . cuī sit exploratum: who is so stupid as to feel certain; the consecutive subjunctive, the relative standing for ut ei.

4 ad vesperum: when evening comes. For declension of vesper, see G. & L. 68, 10. With ad, sub, in, the form vesperum is generally used, not vespera (Reid).

5 aetās illa: looking back to adulescens.

6 cāsūs mortis: fatāl accidents, mischances leading to death. The genitive may be regarded as the genitive of the object, as though the sentence were ea quae casu mortem ferre possint.

8 quod nī: quod = et id.

mēns . . . ratio: see on mente, § 41.

10 quī sī nūllī: see qui pauci (gram. ref. § 46); but nulli here has about the value of non, if they had not existed. For the use of nullus for the simple negative, cf. De Nat. D. 1,65, atomorum . . . quae primum nullae sunt. It is not uncommon in poetry, e.g. cum rogaberis nulla, when you shall not be solicited at all, Catull. 8, 14; si nullum foret, Lucr. 1,427; and often in Plautus (e.g. Rud. 4, 4, 91. Trin. 3, 1, 5, As. 2, 4, 2). It

perhaps differs in point of strength from non as in French point from pas.

12 Sed redeō ad: cf. § 32.

- 13 crimen senectūtis: a charge against old age. Objective genitive.
- cum . . . cum: preposition and conjunction in close proximity. Cf. § 4.
- § 68. l. 14 in optimō fīliō: Cato lost his elder son when the young man was praetor elect in B.C. 152. The manner in which he bore the loss is alluded to with admiration in *Laelius de Am*. § 9. Cf. § 15.

15 tū: sc. sensisti.

in exspectātīs ad amplissimam dīgnitātem frātribus tuīs, Scīpiō: in the case of your brothers, whose advent to the highest rank was looked for. Exspectatus is a participial adj., followed by ad and acc. like aptus. This refers to the two younger brothers of Scipio Africanus minor, that is to the two younger sons of Lucius Aemilius Paulus; one of whom died five days before his father celebrated his triumph over Macedonia, and the other three days after it, B.c. 168-7. The 'highest rank' refers to their joining in their father's triumph, with the prospect of rising to the consulship themselves, Livy, 45, 40. The younger, who died first was twelve, the elder fourteen. It was a special blow to Aemilius, because, as both his two elder sons had been adopted into other gentes, i.e. by Scipio and Fabius, these two boys were the only heirs of his name and honors.

17 At: but you will say, see §§ 21, 33, 35, etc.

18 quod . . . idem: the very hope which the old man cannot possess; take idem with quod.

20 At...at: note objection and answer introduced by same conjunction; cf. § 35.

2 ille . . . hīc: ille looks to the adulescens as more remote in thought; hic, to the senex as nearer in thought. See gram. ref.

§ 69. 1.3 Quamquam: corrective = and yet. Cf. i. § 1, and elsewhere.

4 Dā enim summum tempus: for grant the longest possible period of life.

5 Tartessiorum: the people of Tartessus, in Spain. Tartessus is the name of the region about the mouth of the Baetis (Gua-

dalquivir), in which the Phoenicians planted colonies and carried on a considerable trade. It is the Tarshish of Scripture.

6 Gādibus: Gades (Cadiz), the principal city of the country Tartessus, was situated on a small island (Isla de Leon) joined to the coast by a bridge. It was originally a Phoenician settlement, made an alliance with Rome B.C. 212, and was raised to the status of municipium by Augustus. It was very wealthy, and an important seat of commerce. See Pro Balb. §§ 34 and 39.

ut scrīptum videō: Cato, or Cicero, had seen it in Herodotus (1, 163): ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν.

9 aliquid extrēmum: see note § 5.

10 tantum: only so much, restrictive as in § 36.

14 quid sequatur: what the future may be, or simply, the future.

§ 70. 1. 16 Neque enim...fābula: an actor, for instance, need not wait to the end of the ptay for his applause, so long as (modo) he gains approbation for the particular act in which he is engaged.

18 neque sapientibus: so a philosopher need not stay to the last moment. The two limbs of the comparison are introduced by neque... neque. The philosopher is compared to an actor who has a certain part to play in the drama of life; when that is over, if he is wise, he will be content to leave the stage and not try to see what it is the business of other actors to perform.

ad 'Plaudite': i.e. to the last word of the play, which was concluded by the *cantor* advancing and saying this word. See the close of the six comedies of Terence. Cf. Hor. A. P. 155, Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis, et usque Sessuri donec cantor Vos Plaudite dicat: where see Professor Wilkins' note.

20 ${\tt pr\bar{o}c\bar{e}sserit}\colon$ the subject is $\mathit{sapiens}$ or perhaps $\mathit{aetas}.$

21 longius: sc. aetate if sapiens is taken as subject.

23 Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat: for spring means a time of adolescence, so to speak. Tamquam shows that Cicero is using adulescentiam not quite in the ordinary sense, but in the sense of its derivation, 'a time of growth': so that by saying 'spring means adulescentia,' he appears to refer to some derivation of ver. Varro (Cicero's contemporary) derives it from virere,—quod tum virere incipiunt virgulta; or from

vertere,— (quod tum incipit) vertere se tempus anni. Cf. florens aetas = 'youth,' § 20.

(Some editors read *adulescentia*, which does not appear to make the sense easier.)

2 percipiendīs: cf. § 24.

§ 71. 1. 3 ut saepe dīxī: §§ 17, 60, 61.

4 secundum nātūram: κατὰ φύσιν. The Stoic definition of good. See Laelius de Am. § 19, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.

7 ēmorī: this word has been said to mean to die at once, to die out of hand. But there does not seem anything in its usage to justify this. The compound seems rather to refer to the 'passing away' in death, and (like $d\pi o\theta \nu \eta \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota \nu$) to be often used as entirely synonymous with mori. In Ovid, R. A. 654, perque gradus molles emoriatur amor, it may have exactly the opposite meaning, of dying 'at once.' And in a verse quoted by Cicero (Tusc. 1, § 15), emori nolo sed me esse mortuum nihil aestimo, it refers to the act of dying.

contingit: falls to the lot of, used here in a neutral sense, not,

as it usually is, in a good sense as opposed to accidit.

adversante . . . nātūrā: abl. absolute with concessive force. 9 aquae multitūdinē: by a mass of water.

11 consumptus ignis: fire when it has burned out.

12 quasi: here in sense of sicut or quem admodum. The indicative depending directly on quasi is uncommon. When tamquam and quasi are used in direct comparison, with the indicative, the verbs in both clauses are apt to be the same, in which case the verb with quasi or tamquam is usually omitted in model prose.' (G. & L. 602, n. 1.)

si...si: we expect si...sin: as in § 85.

17 ex longā nāvigātione: after a long voyage.

CHAPTER XX.

 $\S 72$. l. 1. **senectūtis**: see note on ii. $\S 4$.

est certus terminus: for the limits of the various ages in a man's life, see § 60.

2 quoad . . . contemnere: as long as a man (i.e. senex) can carry on and support the burden of his duties and so despise death.

[mortenque contemnere has been altered in various ways and seems singularly out of place. The point of the sentence is not that old men can despise death, but that they have good reason for living, as long as they can perform their duties.]

munus offici: see note § 29.

5 Hoc illud est: this is the meaning of the famous answer of Solon to the turant Pisistratus.

Pīsistratō: Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates, having distinguished himself in early life in war, made himself tyrannus of Athens about the year B.C. 560 by the trick described in Herodotus (1, 59). Athens was divided, as all Greek states were. between a party of democrats and oligarchs. The democratic party seem to have been called ὑπάκριοι (highlanders), the oligarchical party the παράλιοι (men of the seacoast). Having wounded himself, Pisistratus drove in a mule chariot into the town, declared that he had been assaulted by the oligarchs, and asked for a guard, which the citizens gave him. By their help he made himself turannus. Both parties, however, presently united to drive him out, and he was away from Athens for ten years. In 542 he returned to Athens and remained in power until his death, 527, at an advanced age (Thucyd. 6, 54, 2). Thucydides says that the power of Pisistratus and his sons was exercised with moderation, and was never burdensome to the people, but used with virtue and intelligence. He was connected with Solon. and seems to have enforced his laws. He began the great temple of Zeus, improved the water supply of the town, patronized literature, founded a library, and is said to have caused the Homeric poems to be collected and edited. See also Plut. Solon, 30-31.

6 quā tandem rē: on what possible support did he rely that he so courageously resisted him? Tandem is often used in emphatic questions, as the famous opening of the speech against Catiline, Quousque tandem, etc.; cf. hoc per ipsos deos quale tandem est? N. D. 1, 106. Cf. Plut. Solon, c. 31, ἐπὶ τούτοις πολλῶν νουθετούντων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποθανούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ γηρα, εἶπεν. Plutarch may very likely have taken it from Cicero; though he represents the answer as given, not to Pisistratus, but to friends of Solon. The 'tyranny' of Pisistratus and his sons began in 560 and lasted with interruptions until 510. A Greek 'tyrant' has

been perhaps best defined by E. A. Freeman as 'one who exercises regal functions in a state where royalty is not recognized by the laws.'

7 audāciter: archaic and rare form. See Neue, Formenlehre,

I², 662.

9 integrā mente certīsque sēnsibus: abl. abs. with temporal force.

10 ipsa suum eadem quae: the Latin fondness for colloca-

tion of pronouns. See ea ipsa mihi, § 26.

coagmentavit...conglūtinavit: Tischer shows that Cicero is fond of such metaphors; thus, conglutinare rem (Or. 1, 188); amicitias (Laelius de Am. 32) concordiam (Ad. Att. 1, 17, 10).

13 Iam omnis: iam is not temporal, but introduces another

step in the illustrative argument.

1 reliquum: note the substantive use and the modifying adjective and genitive. Cf. extremum above.

2 sine causa: the inference is that suicide is justifiable under certain circumstances. This was a doctrine of the Stoics.

3 **vetatque Pythagorās**: Plato (*Phaedo*, vi.) enunciates this doctrine, ἔν τινι φρουρᾶ ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδὶ ἀποδιδράσκειν, which Cicero repeats in *Somn. Scip.* 7, and *Tusc.* 1, 74. Cf. also Plato, *Apol.* 17, and *Phaedo*, 61, 62; also Tennyson's *Lucretius*:

'Whether I mean this day to end myself, Or lend an ear to Plato where he says, That men like soldiers may not quit the post Allotted by the gods.'

The Stoics, on the other hand, held that in certain circumstances suicide was not only justifiable, but that the power of quitting life was one of the conditions of the wise man's independence of externals. See Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, p. 316.

§ 73. l. 4 Solonis . . . ēlogium est: there is an epigram of Solon's. In § 61 elogium meant an inscription on a tomb; here it stands for a couplet or short epigram of the same nature. The couplet preserved by Plutarch in his comparison of Solon and Publicola is

μηδ' έμοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι καλλείποιμι θανὰν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

Cicero translates it in Tusc. 1, 117:

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

Cicero's criticism seems to be the just one,—that Solon in these lines means merely to express a hope that he may be dear to his friends and therefore be regretted by them, the natural thought which Byron cynically rejects in the lines beginning 'When time, or soon or late, shall bring,' etc.

> 'No band of friends or heirs be there To weep, or wish, the coming blow; No maiden, with dishevelled hair, To feel, or feign, decorous woe.

'But silent let me sink to earth,
With no officious mourners near;
I would not mar one hour of mirth,
Nor startle friendship with a tear.'

The aspiration of Ennius has no such cynicism in it, but conveys the proud consciousness of achievements which will secure his fame.

7 haud sciō an: I rather think. See gram. ref. § 56.

8 Ennius: sc. dixerit. Cf. note, § 3.

9 Nēmō mē, etc.: this epigram, which Cicero often quotes, and which he again, in *Tusc.* 1, 34, contrasts with Solon's words, is thus completed:

Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam!
Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum.
Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? Volito vivos per ora virum.

10 Faxit: the subject is quisquam supplied from nemo. For form, see gram. ref. and note, § 1.

§ 74. 1. 12 Iam: moreover.

sēnsus moriendī: the actual sensation of dying. Cf. Laelius de Am. 12, sensum monendi celeritas abtulit.

aliquis esse potest: there may be some.

NOTES. 163

13 isque: and yet, but only. Adversative force of que, like et for et tamen.

14 aut optandus aut nullus est: sc. sensus. Consciousness after death must be either desirable or non-existent. A third possibility he has already declared inconceivable, § 66, quae aut plane neglegenda aut optanda.

15 ab adulescentia: from our youth upward.

meditātum: prepared and rehearsed, a metaphor from the stage or the schools transferred to thought. A contempt of death is a thing to be early and thoroughly mastered, as a boy masters a rhetorical task or an actor a part, that it may be, as it were, a second nature. Note meditatum used passively as acceptam, § 4, and dimensa, § 59.

18 incertum an: possibly. Cf. haud scio an, § 56. (G. & L.

457, 2.)

hoc ipso die: on the very day on which you are speaking.

20 qui: how will any one be able.

§ 75. 1. 20 non ita: not very. Used before adjectives; before verbs the phrase in use is non ita valde (Reid). Cato illustrates this position by quoting a number of famous names of those who have from one motive or another deliberately braved death. If men in the prime of life and often with no aid from philosophy can thus overcome the fear of death, why should old men, and men instructed, be its slave? The argument is not conclusive. These instances merely show that there are some motives strong enough to overcome the fear of death. This is what Bacon says: 'There is no passion in the mind of man so weak but it mates and masters the fear of death. . . . Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honor aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupateth it.' But all this does not prove that in itself death is not an evil (though it may be the less of two evils) and an object of terror and aversion to human nature.

22 L. Brūtum: Lucius Junius Brutus, the famous patriot who, according to the common story detailed by all ancient writers, drove the Tarquins from Rome, and was himself the first consul, 509. Livy calls him the son of Tarquinia, sister of Superbus. His elder brother having been killed by that king, he feigned idiocy to escape the same fate. After the outrage on Lucretia he threw off his disguise, and took the lead in the expulsion of

the kings. He fell in battle against the people of Veii and Tarquinii, who had invaded the Roman territory in order to reinstate the Tarquins. (Livy, 1, 56-2, 6.) The story is full of difficulties, as are all old stories before the age of written records (and often after that age as well). But it seems to be acknowledged that there was such a person as Brutus, and that he was magister celerum, or commander of the horse. Cicero constantly refers to him, because of his services to libertas, and M. Brutus as well as Decimus, who helped to assassinate Caesar, claimed to be his descendant.

24 M. Atilium: this is the famous Regulus, consul B.C. 267 and 256. The story here referred to is that of his voluntary return to Carthage and his death there with torture. The earliest authority for these particulars is Cicero himself. (De Off. 1, 39; 3, 99; Phil. 2, 9.) Polybius (1, 29-37) gives an account of Regulus' campaign in Africa and his capture, but does not mention this story. But whether true or false, the story is often referred to by Roman writers as an illustration of unselfish devotion to truth and honor. Cf. Horace, C. 3, 5, 41-56.

4 conlēgae: his colleague in the consulship, C. Terentius Varro, by whose rashness the battle of Cannae was fought on ground unfavorable to the Romans, B.C. 216. Livy, 22, 45-50.

5 M. Marcellum: Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul B.C. 222, 215, 214, 210, 208. Of this man Cicero says that he broke the back of the Second Punic War (De Rep. 1, 1, 1). His services were for the most part in Sicily, where a festival to his honor was long kept up in Syracuse called Μαρκελλεία (Verr. 2, 51). In his second consulship, to which he was elected after the fall of one of the consuls at Cannae, he obtained some success against Hannibal at Nola. In his third consulship he was sent to Sicily, where he remained between two and three years, and took Leontini and other cities, and finally, in 212, Syracuse, after a long siege in which Archimedes aided the besieged by his inventive genius. On returning to Rome he was refused a regular triumph on the technical ground that his having handed his army over to a successor showed that the war was not finished, an objection not made on a subsequent occasion to the triumph of Acilius. As a compromise he had a triumph on the Alban Mount, and an ovation in the city. In 208, when he was again consul he was outwitted by Hannibal near Canusium and fell. He was somewhat over sixty years old at his death.

cuius interitum: abstract for concrete, whom when dead.

6 nē crūdēlissimus quidem hostis: sc. Hannibal. Cicero always adopts the popular view of Hannibal's cruelty and treachery, as in Laelius de Am. § 28, alterum (Hannibalem) propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit. But this Roman view is not justified by facts. In this particular instance, when in 208 Marcellus was killed in a skirmish near Venusia, Hannibal treated his dead enemy with respect, ordering him to receive a soldier's funeral.

8 quod scrīpsī in Orīginibus: for Cato's Origines see Introduction. Cicero quotes this sentence from the fourth book of

the Origines again in Tusc. 1, 42, 101.

9 unde...arbitrārentur: the subjunctive because the clause is subordinate in oratio obliqua or as characteristic, depending on the indefinite eum locum. Jordan, in his edition of the fragments of Cato, quotes Seneca, Epist. 82, 22, quid dux ille Romanus qui ad occupandum locum milites missos...sic elocutus est: 'ire, commilitones, illo necesse est unde redire non est necesse.' In another fragment of the same book of the Origines (quoted by Aulus Gellius, 3, 7) an instance of such conduct on the part of Roman soldiers is narrated as having happened in Sicily during the First Punic War, where a military tribune, Quintus Caedicius, led 500 men to occupy some heights where they were certain to be surrounded and cut to pieces. Cf. Livy, Epit. 17; Zonar. 8, 12.

§ 76. l. 12 Omnīnō: assuredly, here affirmative, § 9. The

concessive use is seen in § 28.

13 studiorum...satietātem: the argument is, just as each period of our lives has its distinctive pursuits which we do not feel the lack of in the next period; so the time comes when all pursuits or tastes are things of the past, and then we have had enough of life, and can leave it with as little regret as we have left each stage of it before.

14 pueritiae . . . senectūte: see note on § 4.

16 constans: settled, cf. § 33. 17 eius aetatis: i.e. old age.

21 quod cum evenit: and as soon as that happens.

satietas vitae, etc.: this philosophy, so reasonable on

paper, is unfortunately refuted by the fact that it seldom happens that men, however old, think themselves to have had everything out of their life which it is possible to gain. They are not therefore ready to go, even omitting the fear and uncertainty as to what follows death:

Inde fit, ut raro qui se vixisse beatum Dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vitae Cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 118.

CHAPTER XXI.

§ 77. 1. 2 cernere: here of mental vision, as in § 82.

3 quō ab eā propius absum: the nearer I am to it; mark the Latin idiom.

4 vestros patres: Aemilius Paulus (§ 15) and C. Laelius, consul B.C. 190. The latter served under Africanus the elder, as commander of cavalry at Zama.

5 vivere arbitror: I think they are living. For Cicero's belief in the immortality of the soul, see Laelius de Am. § 13-14: Tusc. 1, 21-23.

et eam quidem vitam: cognate accusative; and the life too which alone can be so called. For this use of is quidem, see Vocabulary.

7 compāgibus corporis: cf. Laelius de Am. 14, id si ita est ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam

e custodia vinculisque corporis.

9 domiciliō: reāl home. This word is compounded of domus, and the root cel- which appears in cel-o and cella, and gives the idea of private and particular residence, cf. § 63. For the notion that our souls have been sent down from heaven to inhabit human bodies, cf. Tusc. 1, 58,—where Cicero argues that what we call learning is a recollection on the part of the soul—neque ea plane videt animus, cum repente in tam insolitum tamque perturbatum domicilium inmigravit, sed cum se conlegit atque recreavit, tum agnoscit illa reminiscendo. With which we may compare Wordsworth's memorable lines:

'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting: The soul that rises with us, our life's star, Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home.'

13 ut essent qui terras tuerentur: that there might be persons to look after the world. The plural terrae, 'the lands,' stands for the world as occupied by mankind, the orbis terrarum.

14 caelestium: sc. rerum, so, the heavenly bodies.

15 vitae modō atque cōnstantiā: the idea is the restriction or moderation and the consequent unvariableness. Cf. Cicero, De Nat. Deorum, 2, 14, 37, and Tusc. 1, 28, 69. Anaxagoras, in answer to the question, for what end he was born, answered 'to contemplate the sun, moon, and heavens.' (Diogenes Laertius, Life of Anaxagoras.) The constantia is illustrated by Marcus Antoninus (xi. 27, Long's translation). 'The Pythagoreans bid us in the morning look to the heavens that we may be reminded of those bodies which continually do the same things and in the same manner perform their work.'

16 ut ita crēderem: to believe thus.

§ 78. 1. 3 Audiebam: I used to be told, i.e. when listening to

lectures on philosophy.

Pythagoreosque incolas paene nostros: Pythagoras, who lived in the sixth century B.C., settled in Crotona, near Tarentum, and there his disciples formed a large school or sect. They were called Italici Philosophi as distinguished from the schools which sprang up later in Greece.

4 qui essent: inasmuch as they were.

5 ex universa mente divina delibatos: that we have souls which are but gleanings of the Universal Divine Intelligence. The metaphor suggested by delibatos is that of a stream or sheet of water, from which small draughts or sips are taken. The doctrine of the animus mundi, of which all living souls are but offshoots, was adopted from the Pythagoreans by the Platonists and Stoics. References will be found to it in Vergil, G. 4, 221 sq.

Deum namque ire per omnes terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum ; hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.

So also in Aen. 6, 724 sq. Cicero often refers to it, as in Tusc. 5, 13, 38, humanus animus, decerptus ex mente divina. And in his poem on his consulship, quoted in De Div. 1, 11, 17:

Principio aetherio flammatus Iuppiter igni Vertitur, et totum conlustrat lumine mundum, Menteque divina caelum terrasque petessit Quae penitus sensus hominum vitasque retentat Aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis.

Thus too Horace (Sat. 2, 2, 79) calls the soul divinae particu-

lam aurae, where see Mr. A. Palmer's note.

7 quae Sōcratēs suprēmō diē: the arguments which Socrates had used on the last day of his life, i.e. as given in the Phaedo; but the passage that follows introduced by the argument based on the soul's capability, celeritas, memoria, etc., is a combination of passages from the Phaedo and from the Phaedrus.

The proofs of the immortality of the soul are:

1, its 'self-motion' (Phaedrus), cumque semper agitetur animus, l. 15.

2, its 'simplicity' (Phaedo), et cum simplex animi natura esset, l. 18.

3, its 'faculty of reminiscence' (Phaedo and Meno), homines

scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, 1. 22.

9 qui esset... Apollinis iūdicātus: cf. Laelius de Am. 7, Athenis unum accepimus (i.e. in numero sapientium), et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum, i.e. in the oracular response given to Chaerephon. Cf. Plato's Apology, 5.

10 Quid multa: for omission of verb of saying, see § 3.

Sic: looking to what follows.

11 celeritās animōrum: cf. Tusc. 1, 19, 43, nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere.

12 memoria . . . prūdentia: note chiasmus; do not translate as 'prudence.'

13 tantae scientiae: taken variously as nom. plural because of its close relation with *artes* and *inventa*, although rarely found

169 NOTES.

in plural, also as gen. depending on artes. The former is the simpler.

15 cumque semper agitetur . . . relicturus : cf. Phaedrus.

245 C ·

ψυχή πασα αθάνατος. το γαρ αξικίνητον αθάνατον το δ' άλλο κινούν καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου κινούμενον, παῦλαν ἔγον κινήσεως, παῦλαν έχει ζωής μόνον δη το αύτο κινούν, άτε ούκ ἀπολείπον έαυτο. ού ποτε λήνει κινούμενον, κ. τ. λ.

The whole passage is translated in Tusc. 1, 23, 53, and Somn. Scip. 18, 9.

16 sē ipse: cf. § 4.

nē... quidem: with force of neither, as in § 76.

18 et cum simplex animi nātūra esset: and since the nature of the soul was not composite. The past tense is noticeable here as in haberet and posset, and is in accord with the tense persuasi, although verbs in the present tense intervene. The change may be due to confusion in referring to beliefs set forth in ancient writers but still held to-day, or, according to Sommerbrodt, such changes occur more frequently where the authors mentioned belong to the past and their writings to the present. See Phaedo, 78 C, αρ' οὖν τῷ μὲν ξυντεθέντι τε καλ ξυνθέτφ ὅντι φύσει προσήκει τοῦτο πάσχειν διαιρεθηναι ταύτη ήπερ ξυνετέθη. εί δέ τι τυγγάνει ον αξύνθετον, τούτω μόνω προσήκει μη πάσγειν ταῦτα εἴπερ τω ἄλλω.

21 māgnoque argūmento . . . reminīscī et recordārī: and that the fact that when human beings are assigned as boys to studying difficult subjects they acquire countless facts so quickly as to make it appear that they are not receiving them for the first time but remembering and recalling them, is a strong proof that, as to most things, they have pre-natal knowledge. Cato is stating briefly the argument of Plato for the previous existence of the soul, Phaedo, 73 A-B, though the readiness to learn does not seem to form part of Plato's argument. Cebes thus states the question: ὅτι ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἡ ἀνάμνησις τυγχάνει οὖσα, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον (i.e. τὸν λόγον) ἀνάγκη που ἡμᾶς ἐν προτέρω τινί χρόνω μεμαθηκέναι α νυν αναμιμνησκόμεθα. τουτο δε αδύνατον, εἰ μὴ ἦν που ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχή, πρὶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνω είδει γενέσθαι. ώστε και ταύτη αθάνατόν τι ξοικεν ή ψυχή

 $\epsilon l \nu a \iota$. See also in *Tusc.* 1, 24, where Cicero quotes Plato's *Meno*; and it is the argument in the *Meno* which he is thinking of most. In it Socrates, by cross-questioning a slave $(\pi a \iota \delta l o \nu)$ on some points of arithmetic and geometry, tries to show that he had notions on those subjects which had not been taught him, and which were therefore necessarily derived from memory (*Meno*, 142 E).

esse: the quod ... videantur reminisci et recordari clause

is the subject of esse.

 $26 \text{ fer}\bar{\textbf{e}}$: by this word he means to point out that he has not quoted a passage from Plato, but has given the substance of his doctrine. As a matter of fact, as has been shown, he has used three or more passages.

CHAPTER XXII.

§ 79. 1.1 apud Xenophöntem, etc.: in the *Cyropaedia*, 8, 7. Cicero has translated somewhat freely and with sundry omissions the passage, §§ 17-22:

οὐ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι, ὡς οὐδέν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἔτι, έπειδαν τοῦ ανθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω οὐδε γαρ νῦν τοι τήν γ' έμην ψυχην έωρατε, άλλ' οίς διεπράττετο, τούτοις αὐτην ώς οὖσαν κατεφωράτε. Γτας δε των άδικα παθόντων ψυχας ούπω κατενοήσατε, οίους μεν φόβους τοις μιαιφόνοις εμβάλλουσιν: οίους δε παλαμναίους τοις άνοσίοις επιπέμπουσι; τοις δε φθιμένοις τας τιμάς διαμένειν έτι αν δοκείτε, εί μηδενος αὐτων αί ψυχαι κύριαι ήσαν; ούτοι έγωνε, & παίδες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώποτε ἐπείσθην, ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ έως μέν αν έν θνητώ σώματι ή, (ή, όταν δε τούτου άπαλλαγή, τέθνηκεν. Γδρώ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὅσον αν ἐν αὐτοῖs χρόνον ἢ ἡ ψυγη, (ώντα παρέγεται.] οὐδέ γε ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυγη, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἄφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπεισμαι. άλλ' όταν άκρατος και καθαρός ό νοῦς ἐκκριθῆ, τότε και φρονιμώτατον είκος αὐτὸν είναι. διαλυομένου δὲ ἀνθρώπου δῆλά ἐστιν έκαστα ἀπιόντα πρὸς τὸ δμόφυλον πλην της ψυχης αύτη δὲ μόνη ούτε παρούσα ούτε απιούσα οραται. Εννοήσατε δε ότι εγγύτερον μέν τω άνθρωπίνω θανάτω οὐδέν ἐστιν ὕπνου ' ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχή τότε δήπου θειστάτη καταφαίνεται, και τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορά. τότε γάρ, ως ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ούτως έχει ταῦτα, ώσπερ έγω οίομαι, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ

σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ ἐγὰ δέομαι · εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι συναποθνησκει, ἀλλὰ θεούς γε τοὺς ὰεὶ ὅντας καὶ πάντὶ ἐφορῶντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, οἱ καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι μήποτὶ ἀσεβὲς μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλεύσητε.

It will be seen that Cicero omits the passages bracketed. The first omission, $\tau \dot{\alpha}s$ $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$, passes over another point in favor of the life of the soul after death, viz. the influence the dead exercise by haunting and terrifying those who injured them in life. The second passage omitted, $\dot{\epsilon}\rho \dot{\omega} \gamma \dot{\alpha}\rho \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$, contains an argument somewhat like that in the introduction to Butler's Analogy; viz. that the body in spite of the loss of various parts of itself remains alive until the final parting of the soul, which may therefore be conjectured to be the habitat of life.

3 nusquam aut nullum: represent the simpler Greek οὐδέν.

See above, note.

4 dum eram: so long as. Note imperf. tense with dum instead of pres., and see gram. ref.

7 sī nūllum vidēbitis: when you no longer see me. For this

use of nullus = non, see § 74.

§ 80. 1. 7 Nec vērō clārōrum . . . honōrēs: by using this epithet Cicero has introduced an argument quite different from Xenophon's. The latter makes Cyrus argue that our paying honors to the *Manes* of the departed shows that we feel it necessary to propitiate them, which could only be so if we believed them still able to affect us. This thoroughly Greek notion (compare the scenes at the tomb of Agamemnon in Aeschylus and Sophocles) is modified by Cicero to the argument that we pay honors to the departed because their former fame possesses the power of making us remember them.

11 dum essent: the subj. is due to the indirect discourse.

12 vivere . . . ēmorī: adversative asyndeton.

ēmorī: see note, xx. § 71.

13 insipientem: Greek $\rlap/{t}d\phi\rho\omega\nu$. Without intelligence or power of thought, like dead matter.

15 pūrus et integer: ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρός, i.e. without intermixture of gross matter or its defilement.

16 sapientem: with power of thought.

17 cēterārum...discēdat: we can see into what each of the other elements is resolved. Note proleptic use of ceterarum. Cf. § 3.

1 unde orta sunt: Xenophon, with greater minuteness, says, to rejoin their kindred matter (πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον).

2 iam vērō: again, introducing a new point in the argument,

as in § 56.

 $\S~81.~1.~4$ Atquī: not contradictory, but supplementary. Cf. $\S~6.$

5 dīvīnitātem (θειστάτη καταφαίνεται): its divine powers, by which in the next sentence he shows that he means the power of prophetic vision.

6 Ex quō... corporis vinculis relaxāverint: an expansion of Xenophon's short τότε γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται.

For the 'prison of the flesh,' cf. § 77.

8 sīc mē colitōte ut deum: I would have you pay me reverence as a god. This is a strange perversion of the words of Cyrus in Xenophon, who says to his sons, 'If this be so, see that in utter reverence $(\kappa \alpha \tau a \iota \delta o \iota \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota)$ for my soul ye do what I beg of you.' For $sic \ldots ut$, see note on ita, § 12.

9 est interiturus: see note on futurus est, § 6.

11 pulchritūdinem: κόσμον. Cicero elsewhere translates the word by ornatus, Acad. 2.

memoriam nostrī piē inviolātēque servābitis: as Cicero exaggerated the last sentence, so in this one he understates the meaning of Cyrus who is impressing upon his sons that his own future existence and activity (though unseen) should be a motive for good conduct, $\mu\eta\pi\sigma\sigma$ ἀσεβès $\mu\eta$ δè $\mu\eta$ δè ἀνόσιον $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ ποιήσητε $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ βουλεύσητε.

CHAPTER XXIII.

§82. l. 14 nostra: instances in our own countrymen, so = Romana. Cf. domestica, § 12.

1 patrem . . . Paulum: see § 15.

duōs avōs: see § 29. 3 multōs: sc. alios.

4 esse conatos: for fuisse conaturos, see gram. ref. So in

the direct narrative we might have, though exceptionally, non conabantur nisi cernerent for non conati essent nisi vidissent (Reid).

5 nisi animō... pertinēre: had they not had an inner conviction that posterity would be something to them. In answer to this the unbeliever would say that the only immortality to be expected was one of fame. And this is how Cicero sometimes explains it, though as a philosophical speculation he usually admits the possibility of a conscious participation in this posthumous reputation. See an elaborate passage upon this point in the *Pro Arch*. 28 sq.

cernerent: is imperfect, although we would expect a tense

of completed action. See Reid, p. 86, l. 12.

6 Anne cēnsēs: an always introduces a question, looking back to another expressed or implied. Cf. An eis, § 15.

7 ut dē mē . . . glorier: to avail myself of the privilege of old men for a piece of self-glorification.

10 Nonne melius . . . trādūcere: cf. Milton, Lycidas:

'Were it not better done, as others use,
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neraea's hair?
Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights and live laborious days.'

Cicero makes the same point, with illustrations, in the Tusc. 1, 33–35.

11 ōtiōsam: i.e. free from public business and with leisure for chosen pursuits.

aetātem = vitam. Cf. § 5, and elsewhere.

12 contentione: exertion; cf. the meaning of contendere, to exert oneself, to hasten. The motion is that of putting all the limbs at full stretch.

13 nēsciō quō modō: somehow or another.

ita . . . quasi: as though from a belief. For quasi following and explaining ita, cf. § 26, Graecas litteras sic avide arripui quasi, etc.

14 excessisset: with effluxisset, § 4, generally explained as subjunctive of attraction. See, however, Reid, p. 72.

15 tum dēnique: then and not till then. nī ita sē habēret: if it were not the case.

16 haud: in Cicero's speeches haud scarcely occurs except before adverbs and the verb scio but in the philosophical writings and in the letters before many other verbs. (Reid.)

optimī cūiusque . . . māximē: the best man's soul would

ever be the most eager in striving for immortality of fame.

§ 83. l. 19 aequissimō animō...inīquissimō: with the greatest resignation, with the strongest reluctance. The Sapiens will confront death without fear, Cicero argues, because of his superior knowledge of the future. It might be added that a course of self-discipline, such as the Sapiens may be supposed to have undergone, will have taught him to submit to the inevitable.

20 plus cernat: has a keener intelligence, so Cicero says

plus videre, De Am. 99.

1 patrēs vestros: see above, § 82.

2 eos convenire: to meet them. For this idiomatic construction of convenire, cf. § 32, and Att. 8, 11, Lentulum ante puto transmissurum quam poterit conveniri. The expectation of meeting the famous men of a past age in Hades is introduced here in imitation of the words of Socrates (Plat. Apol. 41), 'Ορφεί συγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίφ καὶ 'Ησιόδφ καὶ 'Ομήρφ ἐπὶ πόσφ ἄν τις δέξαιτ' ἀν ὑμῶν;

4 conscripsi: have composed treatises, cf. § 1.

 $qu\bar{o}$: -ad quos. The pronominal use, as unde often = a(ex)

quo, also ubi = apud quem (Verr. 4, 29), istinc, § 47.

6 Peliam: Pelias, king of Iolcus, a son of Neptune and Tyro, and half-brother of Aeson, father to Jason. When Jason came to claim his father's kingdom Pelias sent him to Colchis for the golden fleece. On Jason's return with Medea, the latter persuaded the daughters of Pelias that they might restore their father to youth by cutting him up and boiling him.

recoxerit: boiled up again, as the daughters of Pelias did

their father in order to renew his youth.

sī... largiātur: note the present tense in a condition really contrary to fact, for argument's sake regarded as possible; see

gram. ref.

8 quasi dēcursō spatiō ad carcerēs ā calce revocārī: after having, so to speak, finished my course, to be recalled from the winning-post to the barriers. The carceres are the stalls or

barriers behind which the chariots were posted; on these being thrown down the chariots advanced to the calx, from the calx they raced round the course, and to the calx they returned. In this proverbial expression the calx must be regarded as the place not of starting but of ending the race. Cf. Laelius de Am. 101, optandum est ut cum aequalibus possis, quibus cum tanquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. 'To be recalled from the calx to carceres,' therefore, is to be made to begin all over again. See also calx in Smith's Dict. of Antiq.

§84. l. 10 Sed habeat sānē: sc. aliquid commodi. But whether life has advantages or pain, at least we must admit that there is a point at which we have had enough of it. Sub-

junctive of concession.

11 satietatem: Seneca (Epist. ad Lucil. 77), quoted by Bacon, enumerates as one of the motives for desiring death 'satiety,' the being bored with doing the same thing over and over again; —cogita quamdiu eadem feceris: mori velle non tantum fortis aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest. A story is told of a Frenchman who committed suicide because he was tired of

dressing and undressing every day.

12 Non lubet...fecerunt: the miseries of life are often put forward as sources of consolation for death. See Cicero's treatment of this point at length in Tusc. 1, 82-92. The despondent or pessimistic view of life has been often traced through a series of the ancient writers. 'The best thing,' says the chorus in the Oedipus at Colonus, 'is never to have been born: the next best thing, to return as soon as possible whence you came' (Soph. O. C. 1225); the same sentiment is expressed by Theognis (425); and Herodotus (7, 46) says, 'life is miserable, and death is man's most to be desired refuge.'

13 multi, et ei docti: many, and they philosophers. Cicero

always uses this phrase and not multi docti.

neque mē vīxisse... exīstimem: nor do I repent having lived, for I have so lived as to feel that I was not born in vain. As Bacon says, 'but above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is nunc dimittis, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations.'

16 tamquam ē domō: as though from a settled home, as opposed to hospitium, a place of temporary entertainment,

which again differs from deversorium, a roadside inn, a place to turn out of one's road to put up at (κατάλυμα).

Commorandi non habitandi: genitives defining the purpose, to stay in, not to live in. Ad. Fam. 6, 19, villa et amoenitas illa commorationis est non deversori.

20 conluvione: impurities, a metaphor from the flooding of a river. turba. agitations.

22 ad Catonem meum: to my departed son; an instance of the custom of a father speaking of his son by his cognomen.

24 quod contrā: this seems to have been a common formula. Contra is an adverb, hence whereas on the contrary. (Reid.) Long quotes an inscription in Rome:

Quod decuit natam patri praestare sepulto Hoc contra natae praestitit ipse pater.

1 $qu\bar{o} = ad\ quae$, pronominal use, as in § 83.

2 Quem . . . cāsum fortiter ferre vīsus sum : cf. Laelius de Am . 9.

3 non quo: not because, often answered by sed quia, the latter of which may be omitted on the analogy of other sentences in apposition.

§ 85. 1. 8 dixisti: in § 4.

9 Quod sī in hōc errō...libenter errō: cf. on the same subject of immortality, Tusc. 1, § 39, errare mehercule malo cum Platone quam cum istis vera sentire.

10 quī: causal relative.

12 sin . . . irrideant: but if after death I am to be without sensation, there is no fear of our philosophers laughing at my mistake when I am dead. (Dr. Reid brackets philosophi as a gloss; but it seems to me to be required. Cicero's point is 'there is no chance of these petty philosophers having the laugh over me. If they are right and death ends all, I shall have no sensation to feel their ridicule.')

13 minūtī philosophī: petty philosophers. He appears to mean the same as he does by plebeii philosophi in Tusc. 1, 55, whom he there defines as those who differ from Plato and Socrates on this point, alluding especially to the Epicureans. He says that they are incapable not only of rising to Plato's literary style, but even of understanding his argument. He

brands them with the same epithet in De Div. 1, 62. Epicurum igitur audiemus potius? . . . Hunc ergo antepones Platoni? Qui ut rationem non redderent auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent.

16 suo tempore: cf. § 33, sua cuique parti aetatis tempestivi-

tas est data.

18 modum: a natural limit, cf. § 33, and § 41.

tamquam fābulae: cf. § 5.

3 quae dicerem: clause of purpose.

N

VARIATIONS FROM THE MÜLLER TEXT.

CHAP. SECT.

I. 2. satis digne. Müller reads, digne satis.

I. 2. omnis. " " omnes.

I have written the acc. plural, masc. and fem. of nouns, adjectives, or participles whose stem ends in *i*, with the *-is* termination which belongs to the classical period. G. & L. 57, 5.

II. 4. adeptam. Müller reads, adepti.

The former is found in the Paris Ms. and the latter in the Leyden Ms. The former is probably the only passive use of *adeptus*, but is supported, however, by other deponent participles used in this sense.

- II. 5. descriptae. Müller reads, discriptae.
- III. 8. istuc. " " istud.
- IV. 10. plusque. " " postque.
- V. 14. suasissem. Annos. " " suasi. Sed annos, following Madvig's suggestion.
- VI. 16. dementis. Müller reads, dementes.
- VI. 17. gerenda. " " gerunda.
- VI. 17. non faciat . . . at vero . . . facit. Müller reads, non faciat . . . at vero . . . faciat.
- VI. 20. percontantur in . . . Ludo. Müller reads, percontantur † ut est in . . . Ludo.
- VII. 23. in omnibus. Müller reads, in omnibus his.
- IX. 27. ne nunc quidem. Müller reads, nec nunc quidem.
- IX. 28. seni. " " senis.
- IX. 28. composita. " " compta.
- XI. 34. eis. " " iis.

| CHAP. | SECT. | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----------------|--------|--------|----------------------|
| XI. | 35. | morbum. | Müller | reads, | morborum vim. |
| XIV. | 49. | Videbamus. | 66 | 66 | †mori videbamus. |
| XVI. | 56. | quam dixi. | " | 66 | de qua dixi. |
| XVI. | 58. | ut lubebit. | 66 | " | utrum lubebit. |
| XVII. | 59. | communem. | 66 | " | comem. |
| XVIII. | 64. | nostro. | 66 | 66 | vestro. |
| XIX. | 68. | quoniam. | 66 | 66 | quod. |
| XIX. | 70. | sapientibus. | " | " | sapienti. |
| XXIII. | 82. | ullo labore et. | . " | 66 | ullo aut labore aut. |
| XXIII. | 85. | defatigationer | m. " | 66 | defectionem. |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

[The numbers indicate sections.]

M'. Acilius Balbus, 14. M'. Acilius Glabrio, 32. Adelphoe, 65. Sex. Aelius Paetus, 27. M. Aemilius Lepidus, 61. L. Aemilius Paulus, 29, 61, 75, 82. L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, 15, 82. Aetna, 4. See Cornelius. Africanus. Aiax, 31. Albinus, 17. See Postumius. L. Ambivius Turpio, 48. Apollo, 78. Archytas, 39, 41. Arganthonius, 69. Aristides, 21. Aristo, 3. Athenae, 1, 43, 63. A. Atilius Calatinus, 61. M. Atilius Regulus, 75. Atticus — T. Pomponius Atticus, 1.

Brutus, 75. — L. Iunius Brutus.

L. Caecilius Metellus, 30, 61.C. Caecilius Statius, 24, 25, 36.Caepio, 14. — Cn. Servilius Caepio.

millus. Cannensis, 75. Capua, 10. Sp. Carvilius Maximus, 11. Cato. See Porcius. Cento, 50.— C. Claudius Cento. Cethegus, 10, 50.—M. Cornelius Cethegus. Cineas, 43. Cincia Lex, 10. App. Claudius Caecus, 16, 37. App. Claudius Crassinus, 41. C. Claudius Cento, 50. M. Claudius Marcellus, 75. Cleanthes, 23. Coloneus, 22. See Oedipus. M. Cornelius Cethegus, 10, 50. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus, 29, 75. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, 29, 35, 61, 82. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus

Minor, 3, 4, 9, 19, 28, 34. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Cor-

culum, 35, 49, 68, 77, 82, 85. T. Coruncanius, 15, 27, 43.

Crassus, 27, 50.—P. Licinius

Calatinus, 61. See Atilius.

Camillus, 41.—L. Furius Ca-

Crassus. Critobulus, 59. Crotoniates, 27.

M. Curius Dentatus, 15, 43, 55,

Cyrus the Elder, 30, 32, 79, 82. Cyrus the Younger, 59.

P. Decius Mus, 75.

P. Decius Mus, 43, 75.

Democritus, 23. Diogenes, 23.

C. Duellius, 44.

Q. Ennius, 10, 14, 16, 50, 73.

Q. Fabius Maximus Verru-

cosus, 10, 11, 13, 15, 39, 61. C. Fabricius Luscinus, 15, 43. Flaccus, 42. - L. Valerius Flac-

cus.

Flamininus. See Quinctius.

C. Flaminius, 11.

L. Furius Camillus, 41.

Gades, 69.

Gallia, 42.

Gallicus Ager, 11.

Galus, 49.—C. Sulpicius Gallus.

Gigantes, 5.

Glabrio, 32.— M. Acilius Glabrio.

Gorgias, 13, 23.

Graecus, 3, 26, 38, 45.

Hannibal, 10.

Hesiodus, 23, 54.

Hispania, 32.

Homerus, 23, 31, 54.

Isocrates, 13, 23.

L. Iunius Brutus, 75.

Karthago, 18.

Lacedaemon, 63.

C. Laelius, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 28, 35, 77, 85.

Laertes, 54.

Leontinus, 13. See Gorgias.

Lepidus, 61. - M. Aemilius

Lepidus.

P. Licinius Crassus, 27, 50, 61.

Livius Andronicus, 50.

M. Livius Macatus, 11.

C. Livius Salinator, 7.

M. Livius Salinator, 11.

Ludus, 20.

Lysander, 59, 63.

Lysimachus, 21.

T. Maccius Plautus, 50.

Sp. Maelius, 56.

Magna Mater, 45.

Marcellus, 75. — M. Claudius

Marcellus.

Q. Marcius Philippus, 14.

Masinissa, 34.

Maximus, see Fabius.

Metellus, 30, 61.—L. Caecilius Metellus.

Milo, 27, 33.

Cn. Naevius, 20, 50.

Nearchus, 41.

Nestor, 31.

Oeconomicus, 59.

Oedipus Coloneus, 22.

Olympia, 33.

Origines, 38, 75.

Panathenaicus, 13.

Paulus, see Aemilius.

Pelias, 83.

Persae, 59. Philippus, 14. — Q. Marcius Philippus. Picens (ager), 11. Pisistratus, 72. Plato, 13, 23, 41, 44, 78. 50. — T. Maccius Plautus, Plautus. Poeni, 44, 75. C. Pontius, 41. T. Pontius, 33. M. Porcius Cato Censor, 3, and often.

Sp. Postumius Albinus, 7. Sp. Postumius Albinus, 41. Pseudolus, 50. Pyrrhus, 16, 43, 55. Pythagoras, 23, 33, 72, 78.

M. Porcius Cato, 84.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, 36. L. Quinctius Flamininus, 42. T. Quinctius Flamininus, 1, 42.

T. Quinctius Flamininus, 14.

Regulus, 75. - M. Atilius Regulus.

Roma, 23.

Sabini, 46, 55. Salinator. See Livius. Samnites, 43, 55. Sardis, 59. Scipio. See Cornelius. M. Sempronius Tuditanus, 50.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus, 10. C. Servilius Ahala, 56. Cn. Servilius Caepio, 14. Simonides, 23. Socrates, 26, 59, 78. Solon, 26, 50, 72, 73. Sophocles, 22, 47. Statius, 25. See Caecilius. Stesichorus, 22. C. Sulpicius Gallus, 49. Synephebi, 24.

Tarentinus, 39, 41.

Tarentum, 10, 11, 39, 41.

Tartessii, 69. Themistocles, 8, 21. Thermopylae, 32. Thessalus, 43. Tithonus, 3. Titus, 1. See Atticus and Flamininus.

Troia, 31. Truculentus, 50. Tuditanus. See Sempronius. Turpio, 48.—L. Ambivius Turpio.

M. Valerius Corvinus, 60. L. Valerius Flaccus, 42. T. Veturius Calvinus, 41. Voconia Lex. 14.

Xenocrates, 23. Xenophon, 30, 46, 59, 79.

Zeno. 23.

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